✠ The Four Gospels. ✠

Most Rev. M. Heiss, D. D.

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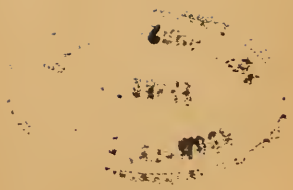

THE

FOUR GOSPELS

EXAMINED AND VINDICATED

ON

CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES,

BY

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"Testimonia Tua credibilia facta sunt nimis

Ps. 92. v. 5.

"Thy testimonies, (O, Lord!) are become exceedingly credible."

"Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas."

St. Augustini Effasum.

"I indeed would not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Catholic Church would not move me."

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PREFACE.

God speaks to man in a twofold manner, by natural reason and by supernatural revelation. Since both of these proceed from the same God, they cannot be contradictory, but the one must rather strengthen than weaken the other. From this we conclude that since it is contradictory to natural reason to hold anything to be true without sufficient evidence that it is so, all that revelation proposes to us, must be shown to possess sufficient natural evidence. This principle has, however, been frequently misunderstood or misconstrued. Some deny that matters of faith are to be examined by natural evidence, because, they say, in this manner divine faith would cease to be a virtue and a supernatural gift of God. Others, admitting the principle, misconstrue it in such a way that they draw from it the most erroneous conclusions; they say that since nothing which does not fall under the immediate human experience, or cannot be derived from the first principles of the human intellect, can be made evident to natural reason, no doctrine or fact which is incomprehensible to her, can be admitted as true by her tribunal. This is, we know, the starting point of all the different systems of rationalism and infidelity. The truth lies between the two opposite errors. To avoid them both, we must make a twofold distinction, first, between the natural conviction of the human mind and divine faith, and secondly, between direct and indirect evidence. What do we mean precisely, when we say that any thing is evident

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to natural reason? We mean that it cannot be denied without denying at the same time the first principles of reasoning, and consequently, without overthrowing all certitude. Hence if we are convinced by natural reason of the truth of any fact or doctrine, we rely on the first principles of the intellect, we trust to them, in a word, we believe in our own intellectual nature. But what do we mean, if we hold anything to be true by divine faith? We believe it because God speaks directly to man and enlightens at the same time the human reason by the supernatural light of grace. The conviction, produced in this manner in the human mind, is the effect of divine operation, man only co-operating; it is, therefore, necessarily much stronger than the mere natural conviction; for natural reason, though infallible in its first principles, as it is the limited faculty of a finite being, is subject to the possibility of error in its operations, in the application of its first principles or the conclusions drawn from them. But in divine faith it is God Himself Who speaks to man and guides the human reason in its action by the supernatural light of grace. Hence the conviction, produced by divine faith, is a participant of the divine infallibility. Man in believing with divine faith, does not rely merely on conclusions, drawn from the first principles of reasoning, he does not seek truth by the natural power of his intellect only, but relying on the infallible word of God, he believes in Him and embraces the object of his conviction with a supernatural energy, added to the natural light of reason through the influence of divine grace. Natural conviction and divine faith, therefore, belong to a different order; the one does neither exclude, nor supersede the other; no, they go together, and the more perfect each is in its own sphere, the more perfect will be the knowledge of truth, possessed by the human mind.

Not less palpable is the error of the rationalists, in maintaining that nothing incomprehensible can become evident to human reason. In this regard we have to distinguish between

direct and indirect evidence. Indirect evidence we call the conviction of the mind derived from the reliable testimony of others. To admit such an evidence as sufficient, is not contrary to reason, since we are compelled by the limited nature of the human mind to admit it to a great extent even in our natural knowledge. History, geography, and similar sciences would be impossible without it. All that reason requires by her internal principles in such instances is, first, that nothing is proposed to her as being true, which contradicts her own principles, and secondly, that the truthfulness of the witness or authority must be shown to her by a direct evidence, derived from her own principles. Both of these requisites are perfectly complied with by the divine revelation in regard to the mysteries of the christian faith. Though beyond the immediate reach of reason, they do not contradict her principles, and the authority by which these mysteries are proposed to reason, is the most reliable, it is the testimony of God, Who vouchsafed to speak by His revelation to man in such a manner, that he can know by the evidence of natural reason, that it is God Himself Who speaks to him. For this end He established a living, perpetual authority on earth, approachable by every individual, and surrounded by such naturally perceptible evidences, that each one who does not shut his eyes, may know by the mere light of natural reason its divine character. This authority is the Church of God, a city seated on the mountain, the pillar and ground of truth; she proves her divine authority directly to reason, partly by the so-called motives of faith, partly by her divine organization and divine marks; and this authority being once established, we have a natural and most convincing, though indirect evidence, for all her doctrines.

There is one point more, not to be overlooked in this question. Not all doctrines, or facts, proposed by divine revelation are mysteries; many of them are not absolutely beyond the reach of reason. Man perhaps would not perceive them, at

least not so distinctly without revelation, but being once proposed to him, he perceives their evidence also directly by the natural light of reason. Concerning them, it is not always necessary to establish first the divine authority of the church, and thence to derive the certainty of them; in such questions we can arrive directly, or at least without the divine authority of the church, at an evidence perfectly satisfactory to human reason.

Now these are the principles according to which we proceeded in this treatise on the four gospels. This, of course, is not the place to develop them perfectly in all their consequences and to establish the application of them against all possible objections; for our present purpose it will suffice to have them stated, and this the more so, as we presume that the most of our readers will admit them without any difficulty to be philosophically sound and theologically correct.

The modern literature on Scripture, and especially on the New Testament, is very extensive. The protestant theologians of Germany have published, since the second half of the past century up to the present day almost numberless productions on the holy books. We admire their learning and indefatigable labors, but alas, we must confess that the gain for true knowledge from all this learning seems to be of a very doubtful character; for instead of having corroborated, as we might expect, by their learning the divine revelation, as far as it is contained in the sacred books, they have, on the contrary, more and more undermined all certitude about it. And why so? They started from principles which necessarily must lead to such fatal consequences. The head-principle of protestantism, that Scripture *alone* is the infallible authority for man on earth, is one of them; for in order that Scripture can be considered as such an authority, it must be divinely inspired; but to prove the divine inspiration of the Scripture without *another* infallible authority, is impossible; and consequently, the doctrine of inspiration, and by this all infallible authority,

has been given up by these theologians since the time of J. S. Semler. Moreover, they were all more or less imbued with the principles of modern philosophical systems of Kantianism, Fichteism, Schellingianism or Hegelianism, in consequence of which they founded quite a new science of criticism and interpretation of the Scripture, calling it the higher criticism and higher interpretation. The foundation of this new science is very plain; it consists in the assertion that no miracles, prophecies and mysteries in the proper sense can be admitted by the human reason. From this then they derive very strange rules of criticism and interpretation. Scripture, they assert very distinctly, is not to be considered as the collection of divinely inspired books, but the Old Testament is nothing more than a collection of the Jewish literature, and the New Testament is merely the primitive literature of the first christians. Concerning the authenticity of the several books, the interior qualities of them are decisive; the testimonies of historical tradition are only of a subordinate weight in this question. The prophecies which refer to a determinate event in a distant time must be considered as a certain sign that the book in which they are contained, has not been written at such an early time as it claims, but later, either immediately before the stated event took place, or even after it. Therefore such books, they say, are necessarily spurious. The miracles are natural events, either misconstrued by the writer or not exactly stated; sometimes they are invented at a later period, and therefore a sure sign that the book which relates them, is not authentic. All these points, they continue, must be kept well in sight, not only by the critic, but also by the interpreter of the holy books. Moreover, the scientific interpreter must know, that the passages quoted in the N. T., by Christ and the apostles, from the Old Testament, are not used in their true and proper sense, but as they were understood by the Jews at that time, following an erroneous system of interpretation. The doctrines of faith must be subjected to philosophy, therefore only those

can be admitted as sound, which are in accordance with the progress of the modern philosophy. All the rest must be rejected as a part of the erroneous opinions of the age in which the book has been written. These are the leading points of this new science. Whosoever feels any desire to know more about them, will be amply satisfied in reading J. G. Eichhorn's Introduction into the Old Testament, vol. I, 62, or his Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur, vol. 4, p. 251–353, vol. 5, p. 207.

Applying these rules to the gospels in particular, there are, according to this new science, four different methods of interpretation and explanation to be distinguished; the first of them is named the *historical* method, and was adopted by J. S. Semler and Eichhorn. They say that Christ and the apostles accommodated themselves in their doctrine to the prevailing opinions of their age. Hence all that the gospels in any way have in common with Philo of Alexandria, Josephus Fl. or the Talmud, is by no means to be considered as their real doctrine, and must, therefore, be thrown off as rubbish, to find under it the pure and genuine christian doctrine. As far as they pretended to explain the gospels by means of historical researches, they called their method the historical; but certainly, its proper name would be the method of a weak-minded accommodation. Immanuel Kant thought to have found another straight path to arrive at the true sense of the holy books. According to his philosophy, man is not enabled to know any thing of God but by his sense of morality. The moral doctrines, therefore, form, according to Kant, exclusively the doctrine of the true religion. Hence all doctrines which do not contain a moral instruction, are of no avail and must be rejected as empty speculations of the age. This became for a while the most popular manner of explaining the Scripture. It is no doubt the easiest; for there is no great learning required, but only a sound moral sense to arrive at the true meaning of the sacred books; and who will be so low-minded as to doubt that *he* pos-

sesses this qualification?—Nevertheless this method became soon rather tedious and disgusting to the common sense of the human mind. Is it not absurd to speak of a building without foundation, or of a tree without roots? The same are moral instructions without dogmatical foundation. Hence a new method was invented by Professor Paulus of Heidelburg, who rode, as a writer says, the gray horse of rationalism for more than half a century, without moving from the spot. He improved the first method by the supposition that the miracles mentioned in the Scripture are nothing else but natural events, transformed into miracles by psychological illusions. The man languishing thirty-eight years labored under a fixed, false apprehension; he believed himself to be sick without being so; Christ perceiving this cured him by charging him severely to get up, take his bed and go home. When we read that Peter found a stater in the mouth of the fish, this means nothing more but that he sold the fish for a stater. No doubt this method is the most amusing on account of its overflowing absurdity; but probably for this very reason it had also for a while its admirers. We may learn from this, that learning without sound principles, makes man a fool. The most subtile and captivating of these modern methods for interpreting the Scriptures is finally the so-called mythical method. It was first introduced by De Wette, and afterwards more developed and applied with some eclat to the gospels and the acts of the apostles by David Strauss in his life of Jesus, published in Tuebingen 1835. They declare the history of the old and new Testaments, as far as the sacred books pretend to relate divine revelations, mysteries and miracles, to be a composition of myths and national tales, not intentionally invented, but, as it were, spontaneously growing out of the mythical spirit of the past ages, as among other nations and communities, thus also among the Jews and the first christians, to surround by them their eminent men, especially Moses and Christ, with a supernatural nimbus, and at the same time to symbolize their

religious ideas. The scientific expounder, therefore, must labor to penetrate these symbols and myths, and to enucleate out of them the historical reality, or the hidden religious ideas. This method necessarily presupposes that the sacred books have been written long after the events had taken place to which they refer, and are, therefore, not authentic; for it would be absurd to assume, that already the cotemporaries of Moses or of Christ would have described their deeds in a mythical manner. To prove their supposition, they make a liberal use of the rules of criticism, stated above; especially they hunt for apparent contradictions, or for chronological or historical difficulties, exaggerate them, admit no reconciliation, and conclude then, that such books cannot be written by such an author, or at such a time. The testimonies of historical tradition are either entirely disregarded as being of no weight, or disturbed by all possible objections. Thus they obtain the desired end, the supposed spuriousness of the sacred books, to build on it their system. D. Strauss, writing in this manner the life of Jesus, caused great alarm in the protestant parts of Germany. When called to Zurich, to occupy a chair of theology, the protestant people resisted with the arms in their hands. Also in the literary world some reaction took place on account of this work; even those who otherwise avowed the same principles, declared that Strauss went too far; the historical character of the gospels was again defended, at least, thus far, that they have been written in the first century, about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, though not by those authors to whom they are ascribed by tradition. Dr. H. J. Holzmann, professor at the University of Heidelberg, maintains in his works, "Die Synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und Geschichtlicher Character," published in Leipzig, 1863, that the first gospel has been written immediately before the destruction of Jerusalem, the third not long after, the second, at least as we have it now, probably also after the said catastrophe. Yet there is scarcely one of these

modern writers who agrees with the other. The fanatic Ewald in Goettingen hates and abhors the protestant theologians of Tuebingen not less than the Pope of Rome, which animosity however, is amply repaid again by the adherents of the late Professor Baur of Tuebingen. In the mean time, this distructive criticism, which for a long while was confined to the protestant universities of Germany, spread also into other countries. The controversy, raised in England in our days by Colenso, manifests the same principles, and E. Renan reproduces in France the results of the German critics, in boldness even surpassing them. "The miracles of the gospel, he says, are in general conceived after natural analogies and violate not too much the laws of nature, like the wonders of the Indo-European mythology."*) In another place the same author says: "To understand Jesus, we must be hardened against the miracles; we must elevate ourselves above our age of reflection and slow-working analysis, in order to contemplate the faculties of the soul in that state of prolific and naive liberty, in which, disdaining our painful combinations, they attain their object without reflecting on themselves."†) He thinks even, that the ideality of the moral character of Jesus might be acknowledged, without any necessity of believing in His historical reality.‡) These short strictures on this modern school of criticism will suffice to show to the reader; why we could scarcely make any use of their productions, nor take in consideration their bewildering theories. But, you may ask, should they not be refuted? Certainly; yet we think, the plainest

*) Etudes d'historie religieuse, p. 177.

†) l. c. p. 192.

‡) La peinture d'une sublime caractere ne gagne rien a sa conformite avec un heros reel, l. c. p 214. Whilst writing these lines, we read in the Allg. Zeitung, June 27, 1863, that the same author is about publishing "La vie de Jesus," based on the *researches of the German critics.* It is said to be looked for with great anxiety by both the friends and opponents of R. But *even* the Allg. Z. disapproves of his tendencies. Dr. Holzmann calls R. a pantheist. We are told that L. Veuillot prepares a refutation of R.'s "La vie de Jesus."

way to do this, will be to lay open the principles of this hypercriticism, to oppose to them the simple statements of historical tradition, and to meet the difficulties, which they derive from apparent errors or mistakes in the holy books. In this manner we endeavored by this treatise to oppose this baneful criticism, without troubling the reader with all the details of its evaporations. By divers reasons we were compelled to be short, and hence it may happen, that, at least at the first view, the reader will not be satisfied in all instances; yet we entertain the hope, that the whole being carefully considered in its connection, our aim also in regard to this criticism will not be entirely frustrated. We are, however, not so much self-conceited as not to perceive the many imperfections of this treatise. We labored under many difficulties and disadvantages of which the author's deficiency in the English language was not the least. In this regard, therefore, we ask the kind indulgence of the reader.—It will be easily perceived that we have no predilection for novel opinions and theories; hence as far as it was consistent with facts and principles, we maintained always the common doctrine of the theologians. Only once we were tempted to adopt such a modern theory; to explain the near affinity between the synoptical gospels, in our times the hypothesis has been offered that they depend on one common source, the so-called primitive gospel, which has been lost. We considered at first this supposition to be harmless, and, at the same time, well adapted to solve the riddle. Yet considering that such a primitive gospel is never mentioned by any of the fathers, and is rather opposed to their view on the origin of these three gospels, we gave it up. It is our settled theological conviction, that the common doctrine of the theologians within the church, at least in any question connected with faith, is always *essentially* correct. What is sometimes wanting consists only in its being not yet perfectly developed, or in its not being established on a sufficiently solid basis against the

difficulties which in the course of time may arise against it from various sources.

The annotations under the text should not be left unread; they form frequently the basis of our argumentation. We took great care for the correctness of the quotations, in order that the reader may be enabled in every instance to examine our conclusions. Some slight typographical errors, we think, will be easily noticed and corrected by the reader.

We intended at first to comprise in this treatise all the books of the N. T; but perceiving the difficulties to which a publication of a larger work is subjected, we confined our labors to the four gospels, leaving the rest to some future period, or what we would wish much more, to some other author among the venerable clergy of this country. Certainly the sacred books are an inexhaustible source, always yielding a joyful recompense to the skillful laborer. May God grant, that also by means of this our humble labor some benefit will be drawn from this sacred fountain. M. H.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

1) The Catholic believes by the authority of the church, that all the books contained in the Latin Vulgate, are the inspired word of God*) The centre, we may say, of all of them, both of the old and new Testament lies in the four gospels, so that though all are sacred, these books are of a pre-eminent importance according to the doctrine of the fathers; they contain the falfilment of all that has been foreshadowed and foretold in the Old Testament, and not less at the same time, also all the elements or germs of which the other apostolical writings and the whole history of the church until the end of time, are a continuous development. The eternal Son of God, made man, appears in them in full reality among men, and manifests His glory to man, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, of Whose fullness we all have received, and grace for grace. No wonder, therefore, that all the instructions of the faithful are based principally on these sacred books, and moreover that the liturgy of the church contains not only many parts of the gospels, but that it represents in the cycle of its festivals, continuously in a symbolical manner all the main events recorded in them. Indeed to understand them well, is the true wisdom for man, is to know all, at least implicitly, and therefore, we think, that to confer something towards their better understanding, little as it may be, is a labor that brings its own reward.

2.) The principal aim of this treatise is, first, to remove the difficulties which we encounter partly from human frailty, partly from human perversity concerning these sacred books, and secondly, to bring at the same time the principal events of the sacred history in their full truth and connection somewhat

*) In many editions of the Vulgate there are also added the "Prayer of Manasses" and the third and fourth book of Esdras, but they are expressly declared not to be canonical.

nearer to the mind. For this end we shall endeavor to show, 1.) that the books, even considered merely in the light of natural reason, are most trustworthy *historical* documents; 2) that the text of them as preserved to the present day, is not only *correct*, at least without any essential corruption, but *divinely inspired*. The inspiration of the sacred books is a definite article of faith for the catholic; the other two points, the historical reliability, of them and the correctness of their text, are necessarily presupposed by the fact of the inspiration, and consequently though not expressly defined by the church, pertain, as the theologians say, to the faith. The inspiration imports a supernatural fact, not subject to merely human experience, and hence cannot be directly demonstrated by merely natural arguments, but must be derived from faith in the divine authority of the church. The other two points, though the catholic has also for them the assurance of the infallible church, as they do not imply anything that is beyond the reach of arguments, afforded by human reason and research, admit the possibility of a direct proof, not superseding faith concerning them, but corroborating it.

3.) We divide the whole treatise into two parts, of which, however, the first will be far more extensive than the second; for in order to show, that the four gospels are trustworthy *historical* documents, we must, according to the rules of historical criticism, enter into the following two questions: 1) whether the gospels are authentic; that is, really written by those holy and trustworthy men, to whom they are ascribed; 2) whether the four evangelists, writing on the same subject, are perfectly free from all errors and real contradictions among themselves. To answer this question, we shall compare them first in general, and then also more in detail, by which we find occasion to enter on all principal events in the life of Christ, and thus to render the treatise of some practical service.

In the second part we shall give a synopsis of the political history of the Jews at the time of Christ, to see from this whether the facts, related in the gospels, are in accordance with all that we know by profane history, and therefore, in every way historically certain. To this we add the two important questions, on the correctness of the sacred text and its inspired character. But as we think, that these points can be made sufficiently clear without entering into minute detail, we considered it better to be short, and not to try too much the patience of the reader.

PART I.

THE FOUR GOSPELS CLAIM OUR FULL BELIEF ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES OF HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

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ARTICLE I.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

I.—*The Gospel according to St. Matthew.*

1. The Greek word Εὐαγγέλιον, in Latin Evangelium, like the old Saxon term "God-spel," signifies, etymologically, "good tidings;" yet by the sacred authors, and by the ecclesiastical writers, the same word is used in a fourfold sense, namely: to signify 1) The object of these good tidings, as we read Matth. 6, 23, "And Jesus went about all Galilee,.....preaching *the Gospel of the Kingdom.*" 2) The doctrine of Christ, as distinct from the divine revelation in the Old Testament, Matth. 24, 14: "And *this Gospel* of the Kingdom shall be preached in the whole world." 3) The *preaching* of this doctrine, in which sense we find it especially used in the epistles of St. Paul, f. ex., 1 Cor., chap. 4: "For in Christ Jesus by *the Gospel* I have begotten you." 4) The history of the life of

Christ on earth, Mark 1, 1: "The beginning of *the Gospel* of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." In this last sense the first four books of the New Testament are called gospels.

2. The first of these gospels is ascribed to St. Matthew; who was he? In the 9th chap., v. 9, of the very same gospel itself, we read that Jesus, when He saw a man named Matthew, sitting in the toll-house, said to him: "Follow me; and he rose up and followed Him." This same Matthew was afterwards received into the number of the apostles, according to chap. 10, v. 3, where, in order to give us full assurance of the identity of the person, he is expressly called Matthew, the *tax-gatherer*. St. Mark, chap. 2, v. 14, and St. Luke, chap. 5, v. 27, speak of the conversion of a tax-gatherer in the same connection of facts, and almost in the very same words, as we read in the first gospel; yet they call him not Matthew, but Levin or Levi: moreover, in the catalogue of the names of the apostles, both of them give the name Matthew without the epithet "the tax-gatherer." In these differences between the first and the two following gospels, the fathers have already seen an indication that the tax-gatherer Matthew, who became one of the twelve apostles, is the author of the first gospel. The other Evangelists, says St. Chrysostom, considered it proper, to conceal in this manner, the former occupation of the apostle, as the name and the business of a tax-gatherer was most odious to the Jews, whilst Matthew himself acknowledged it openly, to commend hereby the great grace he had received, and to show by his example, that none need despair of the divine mercy. It is very likely that Levi was St. Matthew's former name, which was afterwards changed in that of Matthew, either by himself or by the Lord, in a similar manner, as the names of Saints Peter and Paul were changed.

3. Eusebius*) refers, to prove the same, to another difference between the first and the two other gospels; he observes that in the first and third gospels, the names of the apostles are

*) Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 3, § 15.

introduced two by two; St. Matthew is paired with Thomas, but with this difference, that in the first gospel Thomas precedes Matthew, whilst St. Luke, chap. 16, v. 19, and also St. Mark, chap. 3, v. 18, place Matthew before Thomas. It is, according to Eusebius, the humility of Matthew, the author of the first gospel, that caused this difference; he placed himself after Thomas, but the other Evangelists, knowing from the traditions of the apostles, that the preference was due to Matthew, placed him prior to Thomas.*) Another remark of St. Mark, namely, that he calls Matthew the son of Alpheus, caused some to believe that he was a brother of St. James, the apostle, who likewise is called the son of Alpheus; but as tradition knows nothing of such a near relation between these two apostles, and moreover as the brothers of James, as we shall see further on below, are expressly mentioned in the Scripture, without ever naming Matthew among them, we must rather say that the fathers of James and Matthew bore merely the same name, without any further connection.

4. It is very little that we know of this apostle from tradition. Eusebius relates in his church-history,†) that Matthew, after having preached first the gospel to the Hebrews, went for the same purpose also to other nations. Rufinus and Socrates, the church-historians, state that he preached the gospel afterwards in Ethiopia, but St. Ambrose and others say, he went among the Persians; St. Clement of Alexandria remarks,‡) that he led a very severe ascetical life. Certain, however, it is from tradition, that Matthew, before he left Palestine, had written the first of the four gospels ascribed to him, in order to supply those whom he left, in this manner with what was wanting to them by his absence.§)

* Euseb. l. c, audi itaque Lucam, ut Matthaei mentionem faciens, non publicanum dicit neque post Thomam collocat, sed praestantiorem illum cognoscens, priorem quoque nominavit. Patrit. Comment, p. I, p. 5.

†) Euseb. 3, 24. Eccl. Hist.

‡) Paedag II, 1, p. 174.

§) Euseb. l. c. Matthaeus quum Hebraeis primum fidem praedicavit, inde ad

5. The first authority for this historical fact is Papias, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, and who wrote a work entitled "an exposition or narration of the words of the Lord,"*) about 116—120 A. Ch. The work itself is not now extant; but some extracts from it have been preserved in the writings of St. Irenaeus and of Eusebius; both of them being authors of perfect reliability, we are entirely sure that the work of Papias, of which they give passages, was genuine beyond any doubt. In these extracts we read, that Papias collected from among the eldest of his time, the traditions of the apostles. From this source, therefore, is also derived what he states on our gospel; he says "But Matthew has written in the Hebrew language, the words of the Lord."†) Next to Papias follows St. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, about 178 A. Ch., whither he had emigrated from Minor Asia; he was a disciple of St. Polycarp, and according to St. Jerom, also of Papias; in his work against the heresies of his time, he states: "Matthew has published among the Hebrews, in their own dialect, also a writ of the gospel."‡) Clement of Alexandria, who was ordained priest in the year 195 A. Ch., states the same;§) and Tertullian, who was born in the year 163 A. Ch., and died about 243, calls St. Matthew the most faithful commentator of the gospel.‖) Hence we see that a gospel written by St. Mat-

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alias quoque gentes profecturus evangelium suum patrio sermone conscribens id quod praesentiae suae adhuc superesse videbatur, scripto illis, quos relinquebat, supplevit.

*) Ἐξήγησις τῶν κυριάκων λόγων.—The word λόγοι. λόγια means not only "words or sentences" of the Lord, but includes also a narrative of facts, as we see from the passage of Papias, which refers to St. Mark, where he uses λόγοι in the same sense as τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Hilgenf, Kanon N. T. p. 161.

†) Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ἑβραίδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου συνεγράψατο. Euseb ecel, p. III, 39.

‡) Ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον. Adv. haer. lib. III, 1 n. 1.

§) Strom. I. 2 v. p. 409.

‖) De carne Christi, c. 22, Ipse inprimis Matthaeus fidelissimus Evangelii, commentator, ut comes Domini. Item cont. Marc IV, 2, 5.

thew, was known in the second century in Minor Asia, in Alexandria, in Gaul, and in the western part of Africa, and moreover, that the testimonies for this fact reach up to the very times of the apostles, as St. Papias with his friend, St. Polycarp, was a disciple of St. John, the apostle.

6. Besides these testimonies, we have frequent references, or at least allusions to this gospel in the writings of the apostolic fathers, in the epistles of *St. Barnabas*, of St. Clement of Rome, who was bishop of Rome about 91 A. Ch., and died about 100 A. Ch.; then of St. Ignatius M., who is believed to have been elected bishop of Antioch in 67, and died between 107 and 115 A. Ch.; also of Polycarp, a friend of St. Ignatius, (born 61, and died 167 A. Ch.,) and the more extensive works of St. Justin M., born 99, and died 164 A. Ch., contain so many references to this gospel, that no doubt is left, that the sacred book, to which these fathers refer, is the very same gospel which we ascribe to St. Matthew. For the sake of brevity, I confine myself, and give only one of these quotations, namely that which we find in the epistle of St. Barnabas. It has been questioned whether this epistle has been written by Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. Eusebius places it in one passage*) among the spurious books, and in another passage†) among the contradicted, that is, among those which are not admitted by all as canonical; and St. Jerom calls it apocryphical, that is a book that was read in the church without being canonical. From these expressions some modern critics have concluded that this epistle was not written by St. Barnabas; yet it seems that Eusebius and St. Jerom did not deny the authorship of St. Barnabas, but merely the inspired character of this epistle, which was asserted by some; Clement of Alexandria distinctly says, it was the epistle of Barnabas, the apostle,‡) and refers to it as to an authority by many quota-

*) Hist. Eccl. III, 25.
†) Hist. Eccl. IV, 14.
‡) Strom. II, 6, 7, 15. 18.

tions. Origen calls it an "epistola *catholica*," which probably means a canonical epistle.*) So much however is (even by the adversaries) admitted that this epistle was written early in the second century.†) Now in this epistle we read: "Adtendamus ergo, ne forte, *sicut scriptum est, multi vocati, pauci electi* inveniamur." Let us be attentive to ourselves, lest perhaps we may be found (wanting) as it is written, many are called—few chosen. This sentence "multi vocati, pauci electi," is nowhere found in Scripture, except twice in the gospel of St. Matthew, namely: chap. 20, 16, and chap. 22, 14. Hence it is evident that the author of this epistle has known the gospel of St. Matthew. Yet the hypercritics of our time, as Credner and others, objected to the conclusions drawn from this quotation, that the words "*sicut scriptum est*," *as it is written*, are merely the gloss of a copyist, and therefore not genuine; the sentence "multi vocati, pauci electi," as other sentences of Christ in the writings of the apostolic age, has not been derived from a written document, but from oral tradition. It was difficult to refute this objection, as we had not any longer the Greek text of this passage of the epistle, but only a latin translation. But lately the learned Tischendorf, a protestant, has discovered a most remarkable codex of the Bible in the convent of St. Catharine, on the mount Sinai, in which also the Epistle of St. Barnabas is contained in the Greek original, the disputed words "sicut scriptum est" are found in the original text, and by this, as Tischendorf remarks, it is evidently shown, that already in the first quarter of the second century, the gospel of St. Matthew was not only existing, and generally known in the church, but was considered to be canonical.‡)

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*) A. Hilgenfeld, though he denies the authorship of Barnabas, calls the epistle a remarkable document of the Alexandrian Church, probably towards the end of the *first* century. Die Apostolischen Vaeter, p. 46.

†) The whole passage, according to the text of the Cod. Sinait. runs thus: "Προσέχωμεν, *μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοὶ, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐλεκτοὶ, εὑρεθῶμεν*· Cf, Matth. 20, 16, 14. Katholische Literatur Zeitung, Jahrg. 9, n. 45.

‡) Cont. Celsum 1, 63, o. f. de Princip. III, 2 n. 4, Exp., in Rom. n. 23.

7. As we see from the testimonies of Papias and St. Irenaeus, it is a very ancient tradition, that St. Matthew has written his gospel in Hebrew, or rather in the so-called Aramaic dialect, spoken by the Jews at the time of Christ. Eusebius*) and St. Jerom relate, that Pantaenus, who founded the catechetical school of Alexandria, and was the predecessor and master of Clement of Alexandria, found the gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, among the Indians of the East, to whom, he was told, it had been brought by the apostle St. Bartholomew; he took it thence to Alexandria. Origen quotes passages of the Hebrew text. Eusebius speaks on three different occasions of the supposed translator from the Hebrew into Greek; St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, St. Epiphanius and St. Chrysostom repeat the same; and St. Jerom says in one passage: "Matthew composed the gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters and words; who afterwards has translated it into Greek, is not sufficiently certain. Moreover the Hebrew gospel itself is kept *to the present day, in the library of Cesarea*, which has been founded with exceeding zeal by Pamphilus, the martyr. To myself, also, permission was given to copy it by the Nazarei, who use this book in Beroea, a city of Syria."†)

Yet, nevertheless, this ancient tradition, so strongly warranted by the most reliable authorities, has been called into question by Erasmus of Rotterdam in the 16th century, and after him by other modern writers, down to the learned L. Hug of our times. Because the Hebrew text is not now a-days extant, it was asserted, the text of this Hebrew gospel to which the ancient authors refer, was quite different from the text of the Greek gospel of St. Matthew; St. Jerom, they say, whilst he praises highly on one occasion the Hebrew gospel, made no use of it in his corrections of the translation of the N. T. Origen frequently refers to it, but he ascribes sometimes very little

*) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. V, 10.

†) St. Hieronym. de Vir. ill. 63.

authority to it. St. Epiphanius calls it, at one time authentic, but at another time just the reverse. Moreover, they say, in the age of the apostles the Greek language was universally known and spoken in Palestine, so that there was no necessity of a gospel in Hebrew, and finally, they add, if the gospel of St. Matthew had been written in Hebrew, the interpretation of Hebrew words could not be accounted for, and much less the fact, that the author of the holy book would have given the quotations from the Old Testament, not according to the reading of the Hebrew text, but of the ancient Greek translation of the Septuagint.

To these objections we answer, first in general, that as we have here a question of a historical fact, testified by the unanimous consent of the most reliable authors, who state in the most definite expressions, to have seen, read, translated and examined the Hebrew original of this gospel, their testimony must be held of much greater weight, than all conjectures, derived from any internal difficulties of the book; otherwise, all historical evidence is at once set at naught, and no history would be possible any longer. Hence the protestant theologian, Isaac Vossius, observes: "I understand that some rabbinistic half-theologians trample under foot the testimonies of all the fathers, and all the churches, and assert seriously, that Matthew has not written in Hebrew, but in Greek; yet," he continues, "we would be fools, if we would answer anything to their dreams."*) More condescending, however, than Vossius, we will shortly enter on the principal objections of our adversaries. What refers to the contradictions, observed in the testimonies of the ancient authors, we answer, that these contradictions are only apparent, the quoted authors referring, in different passages, to a different text of the Hebrew gospel; for the pure text of the Hebrew was soon interpolated by some additions, derived from oral tradition, as we see it in some quo-

*) Is. Voss. Praef. Append. in libr. de Sept. Interpr.

tations from the Hebrew text extant, in the writings of the fathers; hence, even the gospel, as it was preserved down to to the 4th century by the Nazaraei, who were, most probably, no heretics, did not entirely agree with the Greek text, yet it contained no manifest error, and was, therefore, considered to be of good authority; but at the same time, the Hebrew text was quite differently treated by the Ebionites, and other heretics of Jewish tendency; under their hands the Hebrew gospel became entirely corrupted and adapted to their false doctrines, wherefore it was of no authority any more. Of this corrupted text we have, no doubt, to understand those passages of the fathers, where they deny all authority to the Hebrew gospel.

What is said of the universal use of the Greek language in Palestine, cannot be admitted to such an extent, since we know that the language of the people was the Aramaic; it is certain from the gospels, that our Lord spoke Aramaic, and St. Paul defended himself before the people in the same language.*)

The Greek interpretation of the Hebrew names may be added by the translator, without prejudice to a correct and faithful translation. The passages from the Old Testament are in this gospel, mostly not literally quoted, but only according to the sense; seven of them are nearer to the Hebrew text, than to the Greek of the Septuagint; three of them agree perfectly with the Septuagint, but in these three instances the Greek translation agrees also with the Hebrew text. St. Jerom, therefore, is of the opinion, that the Greek text of St. Matthew quoted rather from the Hebrew text, than from the Greek. Hence we conclude, that the Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew cannot be called in question, from any solid reason; our present Greek text is a translation.

8. In connection with the foregoing question, we have to ask, by whom and at what time the Greek translation of the Hebrew original has been made? Papias seems to have known

*) Acts 22, 2.

more than one translation; for he adds in the passage quoted above: "Every one interpreted them, (the words of the gospel,) as he was able."*) Moreover, from the supposition that St. Mark and St. Luke, in writing their gospels, have derived, in many passages, their equal Greek diction, from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, it would follow that the translation which we have in the N. T., is of a very high age; however, this supposition is subjected to grievous doubts, and therefore, any conclusions derived from it, must be very dubious. The words of Papias, well considered, might rather have the sense that there was no fixed and authorized translation at his time, wherefore every one interpreted the Hebrew as well as he was able. Hence we must confess, that neither the time of the translation, nor the name of the translator can be ascertained.

9. A most important controversy is carried on, to this very day, about the time when St. Matthew has written his Hebrew gospel. From the references, quoted above, it appears to be an indisputed tradition, that St. Matthew wrote his gospel before he left Palestine, in order to preach the gospel, also, to other nations. Eusebius, moreover, states by the authority of Apollonius (about 180 A. Ch.,) that the apostle went among the gentiles twelve years after the ascension of the Lord; from this it would follow that St. Matthew wrote his gospel not many years after the ascension; this opinion is moreover confirmed by a great number of Greek manuscripts, to which the remark has been added, that this gospel has been written eight years after the ascension. But against this tradition stands the full authority of St. Irenaeus,†) who states in the most definite

*) Ἡρμένευσε δ'αὐτὰ, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

†) Iren. adv. haeres. III, 1 n. 1, Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξηνεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμενευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπο Πέτρου κηρισσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν· καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου τὸ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

terms, that St. Matthew wrote his gospel at the time when St. Peter and St. Paul, together, preached the gospel at Rome. Now St. Peter and St. Paul were not together at Rome before 63—65, and hence it would follow from this passage, that our gospel was not written before 63 or 65 A. Ch. To this testimony of St. Irenaeus, may be added some remarks, occurring in the gospel, which seems to confirm such a late date of its origin. Thus we find in chap. 27, v. 8, remarked, that the potter's field, bought for the price of the blood, is called hacel-dama, that is, the field of blood, *even to this day*. In chap. 25, v. 5, the author finds it necessary to inform his readers of a custom, that existed at the time of our Lord's passion, namely: That upon the solemn day, the governor was accustomed to release to the people a prisoner, whomsoever they would. Such remarks appear quite unnatural to an author who wrote only a few years after the said event happened. On both sides of the question, the reasons are so strong and definite, that it seemes utterly impossible to come to any conclusion. *Patritius* in his most learned work on the gospels, endeavors by all means to establish the first opinion of an early date of this gospel; but the testimony of St. Irenaeus stands, after all that he has said about it, according to our humble judgment, against his desired conclusion. Reithmeyer is of the same opinion as Patritius; but A. Maier and Haneberg, two other catholic theologians, are decidedly against it.*) One thing appears strange to us: Eusebius, who quotes this passage of St. Irenaeus,†) pays no regard to it, when speaking of this question; did he understand it in such a sense, that it caused no difficulty to the statement given by him?

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*) Doellinger "Christenthum und Kirche" says p. 132, moreover St. Irenaeus relates, that Matth. wrote his gospel when he was about leaving Palestine, *and this coincides with the time* when Peter and Paul preached the gospel in Rome, hence between 63—67 A. Ch. The gospel has been written, at any rate, before the destruction of Jerusalem.

†) Hist. Eccl. V. 8, A.Maier. p. 35.

II.—*The Gospel according to St. Mark.*

1. The question who is that St. Mark, to whom the second gospel is ascribed, has has been controverted lately again. Patritius endeavors to show in an extensive dissertation, that the disciple of St. Peter, whom this apostle mentions in his first epistle, calling him "Mark, my son"* is not identical with John, surnamed Mark, of whom we read in the Acts of the apostles† that he was the son of Mary, of Jerusalem, in whose house the faithful used to meet, and whither St. Peter went, having been delivered from the prison.‡ From this supposed difference between Mark, the disciple of Peter, and John Mark, the same author draws then the conclusion, that not John Mark, mentioned repeatedly in the Acts, and the epistles of St. Paul,§ is the author of the second gospel, but the other Mark, called by St. Peter his spiritual son. The principal reasons for this opinion are: 1) The difference in the name, because the Mark of the Acts is not called simply Mark, but John, who is *surnamed* Mark. 2) The statements which we read in the Acts of John Mark, do not well agree with the traditions which we read in the authors of the first centuries on that St. Mark who wrote the second gospel; he is said to have been in a most intimate relation to St. Peter and to have followed him to Rome at a very early period, where he also wrote his gospel; moreover the same Mark, who is the author of the second gospel, is represented by the tradition to be the founder of the church of Alexandria at such a time, which cannot be reconciled with the statements of the Acts on John Mark. Yet the first reason seems to us rather weak; and to the second we answer that the traditions referred to, are of a later date, and partly contradictory whence no certain conclusion can be derived. The common opinion, therefore, that

* Eps. i. St. Peter. ch. 5. v. 13.

† Acts. 12 ch. v. 12. 25 ch. 15. v. 37, 13. v. s. 13· ch. 15. 39.

‡ Acts. 12. 12.

§ Coloss 4. 10. 2. Tim. 4. 11. Philem. 24.

there is no difference between the Mark mentioned by St. Peter, and the John Mark of the Acts of the apostles, remains unshaken in our judgment; and consequently we say, John, the son of Mary, who is surnamed Mark, is the author of the second gospel.

2. By Joseph of Cyprus, who, by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas,*) that is, son of consolation, perhaps on account of his heart winning eloquence, and whose near relation†) John Mark was, the disciple of St. Peter came also in a nearer connection with St. Paul. When the great apostle set out with Barnabus on his first tour to preach the gospel among the gentiles, St. Mark was admitted as a companion, and followed them, first to Antioch, and then to Cyprus, about the year 43 A. Ch.; but when they had come to Perge in Pamphylia, he, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem, perhaps dismayed by the great trials and hardships of the apostolical labors. Having arrived at Jerusalem, and finding there St. Peter, his spiritual father, either already departed or ready to to depart, he went with St. Peter, or after him, to Rome in the year 44 or 45 A. Ch.,‡) for it cannot be denied, neither that St. Peter, so early as this came to Rome, that is to say, in the first years of Claudius, nor that, according to Papias and other witnesses, St. Mark followed St. Peter as his interpreter. About six years after, 50, A. Ch., Barnabas, when St. Paul wished to visit together with him the brethren in all the cities, wherein they had preached before, would have taken with them John also, that was surnamed Mark; but Paul desired that he (as having departed from them out of Pamphylia, and not gone with them to the work;) might not be received. And there arose a dissension, so that they departed, one from another, and Barnabas, indeed, taking Mark, sailed to Cyprus,§) his

*) Act. 4, 36; 15, 13.

†) Coloss. 4. 10. *ἀνέψιος*, nephew or cousin.

‡) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. I. 13. 17.

§) Act. 15, 37. 38.

native country. About the year 60 or 61, when Paul was in Rome, he admitted Mark again to his society with much commendation;*) he writes to Timothy to bring John Mark along from Ephesus to Rome, whither he also really came, and when he set out afterward, to Colosse in Phrygia, Paul recommended him to the Collossians. Moreover it is the unanimous tradition of antiquity, that St. Mark founded the church of Alexandria; but whether this was done before or after the death of St. Peter, is not certain.†)

3.) For the fact that St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, and partly, also, of St. Paul, is the author of the second gospel, we have the testimonies of Papias and of Clement of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius.‡) Papias, referring to John, the presbyter of Ephesus, says: "Mark, the interpreter of Peter, has written *exactly* that which has been said and done by Christ, as much as he retained in his memory, (from the preaching of Peter,) yet *not in order;* for he has neither heard the Lord, nor followed him, but, as I said, afterwards, Peter, who used to teach according to the circumstances, and not as one who intended a regular composition of the words of the Lord; hence Mark committed no fault, writing a part of them so, as he remembered them; for of one thing he took care, that is, to omit nothing of what he had heard, and not to falsify anything in them."

The testimony of Clement of Alexandria, confirms and enlarges somewhat the foregoing; we read: "When Peter preached

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*) Ep. 2. Tim. 4, 11. Philem. 24. Coloss. 4, 10.

†) Euseb, H. eccl, I. 16. Epiphan, Haer. 51, 6 Hieronym de vi. illust. 1. 8. St. Jerom says: Mortuus est octavo Neronis anno (i. e. 62 A. D.) et sepultus est Alexandriae, succedente sibi Aniano. Euseb, however (H. eccl. ii. 24.) from whom St. Jerom derives his notice, says nothing of the death of St. Mark, but mentions only the succession of Annianus, whence it may be concluded, that St. Jerom mistook the words of Eusebius and that St. Mark did not die at that time, but resigned before his death the new erected see to Annianus, his successor. Reithm. p.379.

‡) Euseb. H. Eccl. III, 39, VI. 14, II. 15, Maier. A. p. 52, n. 1.

publicly the word, and announced the gospel by the Spirit, those present in great numbers, requested Mark, as he had followed Peter for a long time, and kept in his memory what he (Peter) preached, to write it down, and having written the gospel, to give it to them who requested him. Peter, apprised of it, did directly, neither prevent, nor encourage it.*) To this we add the most disputed testimony of St. Irenaeus, who says: "After the departure (death) of them, (of Peter and Paul) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also has written the preaching (*τὰ κηρύσσομενα.*) of the gospel, and bequeathed it to us."†) We pass over in silence, the testimonies of St. Justin M., of Origen, of St. Jerom, of Augustin and others.‡)

4. But a difficulty, whether the second gospel of our canonical books be identical with the gospel of which Papias speaks, has been raised, from one of his remarks on it, which says Mark has not written *in* (*good*) *order*, *ἐν τάξει*, whilst in the second gospel, as we possess it now, no defect of order can be shown. To this objection, we have a twofold answer: 1) If we understand the *ἐν τάξει*, of Papias of the chronological order, it can be understood without violence to the text of *a part* of this gospel—not of the whole; and this certainly can be proved, that the second gospel does not *all through* observe the chronological order. 2) We can, moreover, take *ἐν τάξει*, in another sense, understanding it of the order of arrangement, as we find it in the first gospel, joining together similar deeds and sermons of the Lord, tending to the same end. Hence the iden-

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*) Maier. p. 69, 3. Eusb. H. E. VI, 14.

†) Iren. adv. Haer. III. 1, n 1., quoted above. Reithm. p. 386.

‡) Quotations of this gospel are less to be found in the writings of the fathers, than of St. Matthew; probably because St. Mark is shorter, and contains nearly the same words and deeds of Christ, as the first gospel. However, there is one quotation of importance in Justin M.; he mentions that the Lord has changed besides Peter's, also two other apostles' names, namely: of John and James, who were called boanerges, what means "sons of thunder," an incident nowhere mentioned in the gospels, except St. Mark, Chap. 3, 17.

tity of our second gospel, with the gospel ascribed to Mark by Papias, cannot be endangered by the objection stated.

5. The authenticity, however, of the last twelve verses of this gospel have been seriously called in question, since they were wanting in some manuscripts already, at the time of St. Jerom, as we see in his epistle to Hedibia, who asked him how the apparent contradiction between Mark 16, 9, and Matth. 28, 1, is to be solved. St. Jerom answered, that nearly the whole chapter is missing in the Greek manuscripts; according to Eusebius,*) it was wanting even in most of the manuscripts of his time. Yet St. Irenaeus refers†) expressly to the 19 v. of this chapter; moreover, if the last twelve verses be spurious, the gospel would be without a proper conclusion. The old translations, also, contain these verses. The difficulty, mentioned by St. Jerom, had brought them into some disrepute, so that they were first omitted in the public reading, and consequently, also, in some manuscripts entirely expunged.

5. With the exception of St. Chrysostom,‡) all the fathers agree in this, that this gospel has been written at Rome, and for the Roman christians, what is moreover confirmed, by some latin words,‖) used in this gospel, and by the explanations of Jewish customs.§) But the same inextricable difficulty, as in regard to the first gosple, we meet, also, here again, about the time when the second gosple has been written; for whilst the other fathers expressly state, or at least insinuate, that this gospel was written before the death of St. Peter, yes, even already, when he was the first time at Rome, about 45 or 46, we read in the passages cited above from St. Irenaeus, that it was written after the departure (that is, death) of Peter and Paul. Some of the modern authors supposed that the text of

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*) Ad. Marin. qu. 1, Angel. Mai. Script. Vet. nova collect. tom I. p. 61.

†) St. Iren. adv. haeres, III, 10, 8.

‡) St. Chrysost. Hom. in Matth., "Mark wrote in Egypte."

‖) Mark 12, 42, *κοδάντης*, (quadrans,) *κεντουρίων*, *σπεκουλατώρ*.

§) Mark 7, 2, "*κοιναῖς χερσίν*, he adds" *τουτέστιν ἀνίπτοις*, cf 25, 42.

St. Irenaeus is corrupted, and offered a correction, to solve the difficulty;*) others understand the Greek word, ἔξοδος literally "departure," in a different sense.†) To us, this question seems intimately connected with another one, namely: How far this gospel is dependent on St. Peter; for though the dependence of it from this apostle is admitted by all, yet it is doubtful, whether it has been directly approved by St. Peter, or not. From the words of Papias, by which he excuses St. Mark, in regard to the manner of his writing, we might conclude that it was not directly approved by St. Peter, and scarcely even written at the life time of the apostle.‡) The language, in which St. Mark wrote his gospel, is the Greek. Latin manuscripts of this gospel, preserved at Venice and Prague,§) which were supposed to be autographs of St. Mark, led some to the opinion that St. Mark has written in latin; but A. Calmet already discredited these supposed autographs, and A. Maier says, it has been shown long ago, that these manuscripts of Venice and Prague are nothing more but a part of a latin codex of the four gospels, preserved at Friuli; and contain nothing else, but the Vulgate of St. Jerom.||)

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*)Haneberg p. 658, Christopherson, changed *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον*, into *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου* (*ς*ε. *τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Ματθαίου*) *ἔκδοσιν*.

†)Patrit. suggests to understand *ἔξοδος* not of the death of the apostles, but of their departure from Jerusalem, to preach among the Gentiles. I p. 39.

‡)Clemens Alex. in Euseb. H. E. VI, 14, 7, remarks, that Peter hearing of St. Mark's writing a gospel, neither prevented nor encouraged it. St. Jerom, however, says "Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat. rogatus Romae a fratribus, breve scripsit Evangelium. Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit et Ecclesiae legendum sua auctoritate edidit," (de Vir. ill. 8.)

§) Haneberg p. 659.

||) Calmet. proleg, ad Marc. p. 50. A. Maier, p. 86.

III.—*The Gospel according to St. Luke.*

1. St. Luke, abridged from Lucianus, as some manuscripts have it, was a native of Antioch, the capital of Syria,*) and is called by St. Paul "the Physician,"†) which profession is also indicated in the gospel by his use of technical terms, when speaking of diseases. He was probably from the gentiles, which may be derived from the Ep. to the Coloss. ch. 4, v. 10, 14, and if not a Greek by birth, certainly of Greek education, as his manner of writing and his language, though not always pure Greek, sufficiently indicate. Hence he follows if quoting the Old Testament, throughout the Greek translation of the Septuagint, even in those passages, in which this version differs from the Hebrew text, now extant. Probably he was converted to christianity by St. Paul, when preaching the gospel in Antioch; some infer from the exact knowledge of the Mosaic law and the Jewish customs which he shows in his writings, that he was a proselyte to the Mosaical law, before he became a christian; tradition, however, does not confirm this conjecture, and what is said by some, of his being expert in the art of painting, is not well founded neither in antiquity.

2. From the Acts of the apostles, and the epistles of St. Paul,‡) we know that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul on his mission among the gentiles; yet at what time he joined the apostle, is somewhat disputed. Some believe, he adhered to him from the time of his conversion; some maintain with greater probability, that he became not the companion of the apostle before his coming the second time to Troas, alleging for their assertion, Acts, 16, 10. where St. Luke, the author of the Acts, at once uses in speaking of St. Paul and his companions, the first person in the plural number what he had never done before.§) When Paul and Silas were apprehended, beaten and

*) Euseb. H. E. III. 4.

†) Ep. Coloss. 4, 14.

‡) Acts. 15, 9. 10. 2, Tim. 4, II. Phil. v. 23, 24. Coloss. 4, 14.

§) Acts 16, 10, "and as soon as he had seen the vision, immediately *we*

put in prison, St. Luke speaks again in the third person, and also, when he mentions their departure from Philippi, whence we may safely conclude, that St. Luke was neither imprisoned, nor did he depart from Philippi with St. Paul, Silas and Timothy (ch. 17, v. 14,) but was left there, as afterwards Silas and Timothy at Berea. The communicative form of the narration is resumed again in ch. 20, v. 5, and continued, nearly without interruption, to the end of the Acts; wherefrom we infer, that St. Luke had remained in Philippi, until St. Paul returned from his third journey to Jerusalem, in the year 58 A. Ch. so that he would have been at Philippi about eight years. Afterwards St. Luke seems to have been continually with the apostle,*) near to the time of the death of St. Paul, following him to Jerusalem, Cesarea and Rome, a period of about six or seven years. After the death of the Apostle, we have but dubious traditions on St. Luke; it is uncertain, when and where he died. The Roman Martyrology lets him die in Bithynia, probably a natural death.†) According to Sedulius he died in Achaia, seventy-four years old.‡)

3. To this St. Luke are ascribed the third gospel, and the Acts of the apostles, which two books make, strictly speaking, but one work, divided in two parts.§) Tertullian writes: "I say that not only with the apostolic churches, as Corinth, Philippi and others, but with all churches that are in sacred com-

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sought to go into Macedonia, being assured that God had called *us* to preach the gospel to them."

*) The Muratorian fragment says of St. Luke "Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi *ut juris studiosum* secundum adsumsisset," Dr. Aberle derives from this passage, that St. Luke was at the side of the Apostle as an attorney at law. Tubing, quartalsch, 1863, n, i. p, 94.

†) Sedulius, argum. in Lucam, says: Hic (Lucas) primitus Apostolorum discipulus postea Paulum magistrum *gentium* quasi *gentilis* et *virgo virginem* secutus fuerat." Coll. nov, vol, 9. p, 977.

‡) Sedulius c. o.

§) Some ascribe to St Luke, also, the translation of the epistle to the Hebrews.

munion with these, this gospel of Luke was known from the beginning of its publication, which we defend by all means.*) St. Irenaeus, enumerating the authors of the four gospels, remarks of Luke: "And Luke, the follower of St. Paul, laid down in a book the gospel preached by him, (the apostle.)"†)

Clement of Alexandria,‡) Origen,§) and Eusebius testify the same. In the works of St. Justin M., we find frequent quotations from this gospel.‖) A peculiar celebrity accrued to the same by the predilection, which the heretics, especially Marcion, had for it, as Tertullian and Epiphanius relate, yet they curtailed and mutilated it according to their purposes, whence Marcion was called the "Pontic mouse," for having gnawed this gospel.¶) Not less constant, than on the authorship of St. Luke, is the tradition of his dependency on St. Paul, similar to that of St. Mark on St. Peter. St. Luke is called the follower, the disciple of Paul, and St. Paul again the master, the Illuminator of Luke;**) yes, some ascribed the work of Luke directly to Paul;††) and Origen says the third gospel, according to St. Luke, is the one that is approved by Paul.‡‡) Eusebius already mentions, that some were of the opinion, that in all passages of the epistles of St. Paul, where he uses the phrase "according to my gospel," he refers to this gospel of St. Luke.§§) Contradictory, however, to this constant tradition,

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*)Tertull. adv. Marc. 4,5, "Dico itaque apud illas necjam solas apostolicas, sed apud universas, quae illis de societate sacramenti confoederantur, id Evangelium Lucae ab initio editionis suae stare, quod cum maxime tuemur."

†) Irenaeus adv. haeres III, 1.

‡) Strom. I 21, p. 407.

§) Homil. I, in Luc.

‖) Justin. M. Apolog. 31, 33. Dialog. 100, 103.

¶) Tertull. adv. Marc. IV, 2, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, *quem caederet*, contraria. ....

**)Tertull. l.c. Irenaeus l. c.

††)Tertull. l. c. Nam et Lucae digestum Paulo adscribere solent.

‡‡) Orig. ap. Euseb. Eccl. H., VI, 25.

§§) In 1 Timoth. 5, 18, we read: For the Scripture saith: "Thou shall not muzzle an ox, that treadeth out the corn." And: "*The laborer is worthy of*

seems to be what we read in the first verse of our gospel itself; for thus we read: "For as much as many have taken in hand, to put together a narrative of the things accomplished among us, according as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word, have delivered to us, it seemed good to me also, having diligently *traced all things from the beginning*, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus." But to any objection, drawn from this passage, we answer, that if the apostle himself, though he had received his gospel by immediate revelation, laid before the other apostles*) the gospel which he preached among the gentiles, it was not contradictory for St. Luke, writing a narrative of the things accomplished, to consult besides the apostle's preaching, also other eye-witnesses, and to mention this at the beginning of his gospel, in order to obviate all reasonable doubt, on the reliability of his composition, as he himself was no eye-witness; yet that much may be granted, that St. Luke in his narrative, is not so entirely dependent on St. Paul, as St. Mark appears to be on St. Peter.

4. In regard to the time when this gospel was written, we meet again different opinions. Patritius holds, 1) that this gospel was written in Greece between 48—53. 2) that it was dedicated to the Roman church, as Theophilus was a Roman; 3) that St. Luke made a free use (excribendis iis) of the preceding gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, though following in his composition a plan of his own. To these conjectures we are opposed by the following reasons; 1) St. Luke cannot be proved to have adhered to St. Paul before the year 50, A. Ch. and then, being only a short while beside the apostle, he remained

his hire." Is the second part of the verse, namely *the laborer*, etc., also a *quotation* from Scripture? But the sentence referred to, is no where to be found in the Old Testament, but only in Matth. 10, 10. and *Luke* 10, 7. Estius, however, thinks only the first part of v. 18, is a quotation, to which the apostle added a proverb, used in the common life, like Christ himself did in the passages referred to, for the sentence is a dictate of natural reason.

*) Galat. 2, 2.

undoubtedly in Philippi, separated again from the apostle, until the year 58, A. Ch. Now it must be quite improbable that St. Luke could be considered to have written the gospel of St. Paul, as the fathers unanimously maintain, already 48 or 53 A. Ch. having then been only for a very short while the companion of St. Paul. 2) That this gospel has been dedicated to the Roman church at such an early period, seems to be altogether improbable; we have nothing to rely on for an acquaintance of St. Luke with a Roman or with the church of Rome at that time; it is moreover very doubtful, whether Theophilus was a Roman at all. 3) That St. Luke made such a free use of the other gospels, especially of St. Mark, seems to be entirely against the first verses of the gospel. Besides these negative reasons, there are some positive facts that establish a later time for the origin of this gospel. 1) As we have said, this gospel and the Acts of the apostles formed one work, divided into two parts, and hence it is most probable, that both parts were written about the same time;*) the Acts, however, cannot have been written before the year 63 or 64 A. Ch.†) 2) The same testimony that St. Irenaeus gives for the time of the origin of the second gospel, he gives also for the third, hence, after the death of the apostles Peter and Paul. A difficulty, however, arises from the end of the Acts, where nothing is said of the death of St. Paul, so that it has the appearance, as if the Acts had been completed before that time. Reithmeier thinks that St. Luke, having finished his work already after the two years imprisonment of St. Paul, and having probably departed from Rome, did not publish it until the time when St. Paul underwent martyrdom, (63—65 A. Ch.) A. Maier places it down to 67, A. Ch. somewhat before the destruction of Jerusalem.

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*) Calmet already remarks, Estius in 2. cor. and Grotius in his preface to St. Luke suppose, that the year when this gospel was written is the same as the Acts, namely about 63, A. Ch.

†) Reithm. p, 386.

IV.—*The Gospel according to St. John.*

1. St. John, according to tradition the celebrated author of the fourth gospel, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of the sea or lake of Genesareth, probably at Bethsaida. His mother was Salome, and belonged to the pious women who ministered to the Lord, (Mark, 15, 41). John and his brother James, called the Greater, followed, like the brothers, Simon and Andrew, the trade of their father.*) When John, the Baptist, commenced to preach penance in Perea, John, the son of Zebedee, became a disciple of the precursor, until Jesus was shown to him and to Andrew, to be the expected Messiah, whence they followed Jesus themselves and caused others to follow him; namely, Simon, called Peter, Philip, and Nathaniel (Bartholomew.) One year after (Luke 5, 10. Matth. 4, 21,) they were called by the Lord a second time, and not long after (Luke 6, 13.) they were chosen from the increasing number of the disciples for the higher vocation of apostles, among whom John is named once as the second, (Acts 1, 13.) after Peter, other times as the third or fourth. With Peter and James, his brother, he appears in the gospel in a nearer relation to the Lord than the other apostles, and enjoyed one privilege above all of them, that is, to be the "disciple whom the Lord loved." He alone abandoned not his master during His passion and death; as a reward for this faithfulness the Virgin Mother of the Son of God was bequeathed to him as his own mother.

2. After the ascension of our Lord, he appears always in intimate union with Peter. He preaches and suffers with him for the name of Jesus, he is sent with him to Samaria. (Acts. 3, 1—4. 21. 8, 14.) St. Paul calls John, with Cephas and James

*) Patritius characterizes therefore the style of St. John as that of an unlettered man, saying "Quandoquidem, cum longius hi sermones excurrunt, tum abruptum in iis deprehenditur dicendi genus, iisdem sententiis saepe repetitis ac deficiente plerumque ordine ac serie discursus, id vero eum omnino prodit qui humaniore eloquutione destitutus alicuius sermones a se auditos referre memoriter studet." I. p, 95

the Just, the Pillars of the Church. (Gal. 2, 9.) How long he remained in Palestine, cannot be stated exactly. In the year 50 A. Ch., when Paul came to Jerusalem, he was there; but when the same apostle returned to Jerusalem again about 58, A. Ch., John is not mentioned any more. Hence we may infer that he came to Ephesus, (where we find him according to an unanimous tradition in the later part of his life,) about 59 or 60 A. Ch. After the death of Peter and Paul (65—67) he came to Rome according to the common opinion, under the emperor Domitian, according to some authors perhaps earlier, already under Nero,*) where he was cast into a cauldron of boiling oil by order of the tyrant, whence he came out unhurt. Subsequently he was banished to the Isle of Patmos in the Archipelago, where he wrote the Apocalypse. Under the empire of Nerva he was allowed to return to Ephesus, where he died about the year 100, A. Ch., at the age of 94 years.†)

3. The fourth gospel contains repeated indications of its author, by mentioning another disciple, or the disciple whom the Lord loved, who rested on His bosom, without ever giving the name of this disciple,‡) and thus, therefore, insinuating, that this disciple is none else but the author of the gospel himself. The testimonies of the tradition reach up to the very life-time of the apostle; St. Ignatius M, (died 107 A. Ch.) gives in his epistles references of this gospel,‖) St. Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle, gives a passage from the first epistle of St. John,¶) which, as we shall see below, is in the nearest connection with our

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*) Tertull. de Praesc. 6, 36. Clemens of A. and Origen speak of the fact, but none of them gives the name of the Tyrant. Euseb. refers to Domitian, Theophyl. to Nero, Epiphanius to Claudius.

†) St. Hieron, de Virisill. c. 9.

‡) St. John, ch, 1. 41; 18, 15, 20, 2—4, 21, 7, 20.—19, 26.—13, 23.—21, 20,—19, 35. 21, 24.

‖) Ignat, ad Philad, 6, 7, cf Ioan 3, 8, ad Rom. c, 7. cf Ioan 6, 35. 51. ad Philad. c, 9, cf Ioan, 10, 7, 9.

¶) St. Polyc. ad Ph, c, 7. cf 1, Ioan, 4, 3.

gospel; the same we find of Papias,*) also a disciple of the apostle, and a friend of St. Polycarp. St. Justin M. (died 163) shows evidently that he knew our gospel,†) and gives an almost literal quotation in his first apology.‡) The first witness, however, who calls St. John expressly the author of our gospel, is Theopilus of Antioch, (a. 170,) who says in his apology against the Pagan Autolykus:§) "Thus, the scriptures and all divinely inspired men teach us, among whom John says: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God," etc. St. Irenaeus of Smyrna, a disciple of St. Polycarp, writes: "Then John, the disciple who also rested on His bosom, has also brought forth (ἐξέδωκεν edidit) the gospel, whilst staying in Ephesus in Asia."‖) So also Clement of Alexandria¶), the fragment of Muratori and Tertullian.**) Of the later fathers we give what one of them says, the others agreeing with him. St. Jerom writes in his work, de viris ill. c. 9: "John, the apostle, whom the Lord loved most, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James the apostle, whom Herod beheaded after the passion of our Lord, has written as the last of all a gospel, requested by the bishops of Asia, rising up against Cerinthus and other heretics and especially against the doctrine of the Ebionites who assert, that Christ has not been before Mary." Even the heretics of the second century dared not to question the authenticity of this gospel, except the Marcionites and another small sect, called on this account by Epiphanius the "Alogi."††) After such incontestible testimonies of antiquity, it will be superfluous to enter on the silly objections raised against this gospel by the rationalistic critics of our age.

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*) Ap. Euseb. H. E. III, 39.
†) Justin apol. ii. c, 6. Dialog, c, 65 et 100.
‡) Justin, M. apol. i. c. 61, cf Ioan, 3, 4. 5.
§) Theopil. ad Autol ii, 22.
‖) St. Irenae. adv. haeres. iii, 1, 1.
¶) Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi, 14.
**) Tertull. contra. Marc. 4. 2, 5.
††) Epiphan. Haer. 51. n, 3.

4. Of some weight, however, seem to be the objections made against two parts of this gospel, namely ch. 7, v. 53—ch. 8, v. 11 and the last chapter, as being interpolations or additions by another hand. What regards the first passage, there are, no doubt, the best critical documents against it. The best manuscripts, together with the most ancient translations, the Peshito and the Itala, omit it entirely; none of the Greek fathers, in their commentaries, treat this passage; also the language seems somewhat to differ. But it was found in some manuscripts before the time of Origen; the celebrated manuscript of Cambridge contains it and the Ethiopic and Armenian version translated it; it is found in Tatian's Harmony of the gospels and in Ammonius. The Latin fathers, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom and St. Augustin, all mention it, and tell us the probable reason for which it has been omitted in many manuscripts, namely through fear of encouraging in any way licentiousness, as the passage treats of the adulterous woman, whom Christ pardoned most mercifully.*) The objections against the last chapter are of a different character; this chapter is contained in all manuscripts, and none of the fathers entertained any doubt on it. Hugo Grotius is the first who called its authenticity in question, on account of some difficulties contained in its text. He was followed by many critics afterwards down to the present day; they say, the last verse of the 20th chapter clearly contains the conclusion of the whole gospel; and moreover, the following 21st chapter presupposes that John was dead already, and indicates v. 24, distinctly, that this chapter has been added by others; for thus we read: "This is the disciple who giveth testimony of these things and has written these things, and *we know* that his testimony is true." To this we answer, the last chapter may be called an addition to the whole

*) St. August. de Conj. adult II. 7. "Hoc infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicae fidei vel potius inimici verae fidei metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis illud quod de adulterae indulgentia Jesus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis."

gospel, yet not made after St John's death, or by another hand but by himself, for the purpose, to contradict a false rumor concerning his own person, as if he had not to die; he could add this to his gospel the more, as it was connected with another manifestation of the Lord after His resurrection and with the prophecy on the death of Peter. The difficulty derived from v. 24, is commonly answered by saying, "St. John appeals, as it were, to his readers and unites them with himself in testimony by the figure which is called communication."*) Still a more satisfactory explanation, as it seems to us, has been derived from the most ancient tradition on the origin of our gospel. Clement of Alexandria†) says: "John at last perceiving that the somatic (human) part of the Lord had been expounded in the other gospels, has written a pneumatic gospel through divine inspiration, *being moved by his friends.*" How these last words have to be understood, the author of the Muratorian fragment, of equal antiquity with Clement, explains to us in this manner: When his (John's) fellow-disciples (condiscipuli) and bishops urged him by their entreaties, he said: "Fast with me three days from this; and what shall be revealed to each, we shall communicate one to another. In the same night it was revealed to Andrew of the number of the apostles, that under the acknowledgment of all (recognoscentibus cunctis) John ought to write all in his name."‡) From this, we see that John was moved to write by condisciples, among whom was even an apostle, hence we have in this gospel, not only the testimony of St. John, but of more disciples together, St. John being at their head.§) In v. 24, this recognition of all (recognoscentibus cunctis) united with John, has been added to the gospel. This explanation of v. 24,

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*) Patritius l, I. p. 140, Kenrick on this passage.

†) Ap. Euseb. H. E. VI. 14.

‡) Cf St. Hieronym. Comm. in Matth. prolog.

§) Cf Ioan. 1. 14, et *nos* vidimus, et ep. 1. Ioan. 1. 1. quod *audivimus*, quod *vidimus*.

seems to be more natural, without in any way detracting from its inspired character or the authorship of St. John.

5. All agree that St. John wrote last of all the Evangelists, after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul,*) and also after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, that is, after the year 70, A. Ch. But how many years after, there is some difference of opinion; Kenrick says, this gospel is more generally believed to have been written after his return from Patmos, about the year 98, in the first year of the emperor Trajan, the 65th after the ascension of our Lord, when the apostle was about 85 years of age. The authorities, however, for this opinion, are of little weight,†) for the same say also, that St. John wrote his gospel while on the isle of Patmos, which is positively denied by St. Irenaeus.‡) Considering, that at Ephesus those heresies, which St. John opposed by his gospel, commenced to spring up already towards the last days of St. Paul, and paying some attention to the Muratonian fragment, stating that some condisciples of St. John and St. Andrew were yet living at the time when this gospel was written, we would be more inclined to put its origin in the seventh, than the ninth, decennium after Christ.§) The place where it was written is Ephesus, according to the best authorities. The autograph of this gospel is said to have been preserved at Ephesus until the time of Peter M., bishop of Alexandria, who died 311, A. Ch.‖) Epiphanius remarks, that it was soon translated into Hebrew or Syriac; a Hebrew copy was carefully preserved in his time in the library of Tiberias, on the sea of Galilee.

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*) Haneberg, however, supposes that the gospel was written before the death of the apostles, and only the 21st chapter added after St. Peter's death, to honor his memory, p. 677.

†) Epiphan. Haer. 51. 12, Psuedo-Athanas, opp. III, ed. Maur. p. 202. Hippolyt, de 12 apost.

‡) St. Iren. adv. Haer. III, 1. 1.

§) Reithmeier p, 184, n, 4.

‖) Doellinger however puts its origin in the year 97 A. Ch. 7 Christenth. und Kirche. p. 135.

ARTICLE II.

THE IMMUNITY OF THE GOSPELS FROM ERRORS AND CONTRADICTIONS.

V.—*A General Comparison of the Four Gospels.*

1. The four Evangelists, as every body knows, treat in the main of the same subject, namely the life, passion, death and resurrection of Christ, our divine Redeemer; but they do it, each in his own way. The greatest difference exists between the gospel of St. John, and the three other gospels. St. Luke goes furthest back in his narrative; he relates, first, the conception of the precursor of Christ, John the Baptist, then the conception of our Lord, the visitation by the blessed Virgin of Elizabeth, the birth of John and finally the birth of Christ, His circumcision, His presentation in the temple, and His coming to the temple again at the age of twelve years. St. Matthew begins with the genealogy of Christ, mentions shortly the conception and birth of Christ, and describes the arrival of the Magi, the massacre of the Innocents, the flight to Egypt and the return thence to Nazareth. St. Mark passes over in silence the early history of both, the Baptist and Christ; he commences his gospel at once with the public preaching of the Baptist; mentions then, that Jesus was baptized by the precursor, and states in a few words the Theophany at the baptism of Christ, His fasting in the desert and the subsequent temptation, all of which we find also in St. Matthew and St. Luke, but more extensively

described. Here an interval of time follows in the public life of Christ, comprising about one year, which is passed over in silence by all of the three first Evangelists. St. Matthew indicates distinctly this interruption. Having related the temptation of Christ, he writes: "and when Jesus heard that John was delivered up (into prison), he retired into Galilee."*) The Baptist was not imprisoned immediately after the temptation, but nearly one year after, and hence we see clearly that all the time, between these two events, has been passed over in silence. But what was omitted by these three Evangelists, St. John supplied, at least partly, in his gospel.

2. The fourth gospel begins with the exposition of the sublime doctrine on the Word made flesh, adding immediately the testimonies given by the Baptist, after the baptism of Jesus, not only for His divine mission as the expected Messiah, but also for His divine nature, in the words: "The same is He that shall come after me, that was made before me; because He was before me; Who baptiseth with the Holy Ghost, Who is the Lamb of God," In connection with these testimonies of the Baptist, we read then of the first vocation of disciples by Christ, of Andrew, John, Simon (Peter), Philip and Nathaniel, with whom Jesus came to the wedding in Cana of Galilee, where He wrought His first miracle; after a short stay in Galilee, according to St. John's gospel, He went up to Jerusalem with His disciples, as the passover of the Jews was at hand, and remained in the holy city and around in the country of Judea, probably until the month of December, when, hearing that John the Baptist, who had come in the meantime to Ennon, near Salim, had been imprisoned, He returned through Samaria to Galilee, where He wrought another miracle at Cana, healing the son of a certain ruler. All this we read in the first four chapters of St. John, and thus he partly supplied, what, by the

*) St. Mark ch, I. v. 14, writes: "and after John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee."

other Evangelists, had been entirely omitted; we say "*partly*," for as St. John commonly gives the discourses of the Lord at large, the events of this period are rather treated in a summary manner.

3. At this point, about one year after Christ's baptism in the Jordan, the other three Evangelists take up again the interrupted series of their narrative, and continue it to the end, as it seems to us, without any other interruption, except that they omit to relate, that Christ, between this His return to Galilee and the last passover of His passion, came thrice to Jerusalem, and once in the neighborhood of it, to Bethania, to raise Lazarus to life again; all of which, with the connected miracles and discourses, we only know by St. John. St. Luke, indeed, remarks that Jesus, soon after the transfiguration, set his face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem; (ch. 9, v. 51.) and states immediately after, that He entered into a city of the Samaritans, who received Him not, because His face was of one going to Jerusalem (v. 53); in ch. 13, 22, we read again "and He went through the cities and towns, teaching and making His way to Jerusalem;" and finally in ch. 17, 11: "and it came to pass, as He was going to Jerusalem, He passed the midst of Samaria and Galilee;" moreover in ch. 10, v. 35—42. St. Luke relates, that He was received by Martha into her house, no doubt, at Bethania, near Jerusalem; but after all this St. Luke, like St. Matthew and St. Mark, never says that the Lord ever came to Jerusalem during the whole period of his public life before the week of His passion, nor mentions anything of what He had done in Jerusalem before. Reversedly St. John is very short and abrupt in his statement, referring to the labors of the Saviour in Galilee; besides the two miracles at Cana, he only speaks of one more, wrought in Galilee, that is the multiplication of the bread in a desert place, which is probably the only one, common to him with the other Evangelists. But in the last week finally, from the sixth day before the passover of the passion of Christ, St. John joins the other three Evangelists, to accompany as it

it were with them the Lord in His last days until His death on the cross, and to add new strength, as an eye-witness, to the testimonies of the others on the resurrection, and the repeated apparitions of the risen Saviour.

4. From this general comparison, we might be inclined to agree with those who say that the whole design of St. John, in writing his gospel, was to supply what has been omitted by the other Evangelists; yet this would, if not entirely false, at least be incorrect; to supply the others, may have been in some instances the secondary object of St. John, but certainly it was not his primary design; in the last verse of the 20th chapter, the Evangelist pronounces the end for which he wrote, quite distinctly, saying: "But these things (signs) are written, that ye may believe, that Jesus is Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life everlasting in His name." Comparing with this passage, what tradition states on the origin of this gospel, its sense will become unmistakable to us. Accord- to St. Irenaeus,*) St. Epiphanius†) and St. Jerom,‡) it has been written for the express purpose to oppose the heresies, arising in the time of the apostles, namely, those of Cerinthus, the Nicolaites, the Ebionites, the Doketists and others less known; the erroneous doctrines of all these sects consisted principally in false expositions of the higher nature in Christ and its union with the human nature. The Ebionites, under the influences of narrow-minded Jewish ideas, could not reconcile it with the unity of God, to acknowledge in Christ a real higher, divine nature; hence they understood of Christ the name "Son of God" only in a moral sense, in the same way as every just man can be called by this name; Jesus of Nazareth, was to them, in His dignity, not much more than another prophet, and according to His nature the mere son of Joseph and Mary. The other sects of the time, imbued by the principles of the fantastic New-

*) St. Iren. adv. Haer. III, ii.

†) S. Epiph. Haeres. 69, 23.

‡) St. Hieronym de Vir. ill. c. 9.

Platonism, made no difficulty in acknowledging a higher nature in Christ, yet not divine, the distance between the divine substance and the material world being too great, but only one of the emanations from the divine being, which they called Eons, or also the Logos, according to the Platonic terminology. This Eon or Logos then was in Christ, according to them, not physically and much less hypostatically united with the human nature, but only morally, whence they said, that the higher Christ did not descend into Jesus of Nazareth before His baptism, and withdrew again in His passion, so that only a mere man died on thecross. The Doketists, pushing one principle of this philosophy to its extreme, namely the principle that matter is the cause of all evil, or the evil itself, denied the reality of the human nature, especially the body, in Christ, and declared it to have been a mere phantasm or appearance, in which the Logos showed himself to man in this world. The passion and death of Christ was, therefore, to them nothing but an illusion. The work of our redemption, accomplished by Christ, according to these sects, consisted only in the manifestation of the truth, in the conquering of the cosmic material powers by the spiritual or celestial, or as Cerinthus said, in the revelation of the "hidden God;" certainly they were antichrists, or as St. John writes in his first epistle, ch. 4, v. 9, dividing or dissolving Christ into nothing and undermining the mystery of man's salvation through Him and in Him. Against these abominable errors, St. John rose up, as St. Jerom says, in his gospel with the full power of an apostle, proclaiming, that the higher nature in Christ, the Logos, was in the beginning, hence existed before the beginning of the world, was with God and was God, by Whom all things came into existence, and was the life and light of men through all ages. This eternal personal Logos or Word was made flesh, or is come in the flesh, that is, has assumed a real human nature, consisting of soul and body, dwelt among men, manifested His glory, and suffered and died for us in all reality, whence in Him, as the Word made flesh, we

have life everlasting. To prove this incontestably of "That, which was from the beginning, which the apostle has heard himself, which he has seen with his own eyes, which he has looked upon, and his own hands have handled of the Word of life, (epist. I, ch. 1, v. 1.) this is the primary, the grand object of this gospel, to declare to you, as he says, that which we have seen and heard, that ye also may have communion with us, and our communion is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ." For this design, he selected the proper material and adapted it. Having this end in view, he dwelled principally on that part of the public life of Christ, which He passed in Jerusalem and Judea; for whatsoever may be the reason, it is an established fact, that, whilst Christ in His discourses in Galilee expounded the moral principles of the Kingdom of God and though He wrought there many miracles, He frequently forbade to spread them, even when Peter confessed Him to be the Son of the living God, He charged them not to make it known, He proceeded quite in a different manner, when being and speaking in Jerusalem. There He spoke on every occasion, privately and publicly, with the greatest emphasis and distinctiveness of His divine nature, and pointed, to confirm His words, directly to His works. In these discourses, therefore, St. John found the most proper material for his design; and this is the reason why he dwells principally on this part of the public life of Christ, but it was, we may say, only a secondary design in him, or no design at all, but merely an occasional consequence, when, by pursuing his primary object, he at the same time supplied a part of the public life of Christ, omitted by the other Evangelists. We are perfectly confident, that the reader the more carefully he studies this gospel, the more he will be convinced of the correctness of these remarks, and also, having them before his eyes, the more understand and admire the sublimity of this gospel.

5. But now, having shown the relation between St. John and the other Evangelists, we must meet the question, how the

latter stand one to another. Their writings are commonly called the synoptical gospels, having the same object in view, and this is not without good reason; for the intimate affinity that exists between these three gospels, admits no doubts, but is rather of such an extraordinary and marked character, that it is difficult to explain its origin. They relate mostly, not only the same events, the same miracles, parables and discourses of Christ, but what is most surprising, frequently in the very same words. How is this to be accounted for? St. Augustin suggested, that St. Mark, in writing his gospel, used the gospel of St. Mathew; and St. Luke used both of the preceding. The correctness of this answer, however, has been much doubted and, therefore, modified by modern writers, but after all, according to our judgment, without approaching any nearer to certainty in this question. We confine ourselves to the giving of one of these modifications. Patritius consents to St. Augustin in this, that he defends the same succession of the three gospels, and also, that the succeeding followed one or both of the preceding; but he modifies the conjecture of the father by the assumption, that St. Mark used not the Greek, but the Hebrew text of St. Matthew; hence it would follow, that the Greek phraseology of St. Mark is not derived from the gospel of St. Matthew, but on the contrary the translator of the Hebrew gospel would have used either the text of St. Mark alone, or perhaps beside St. Mark's also that of St. Luke, namely in the case, that the translation of the first gospel would have been made, after St. Luke had already written his gospel. The reason that prevailed on Patritius, to make this modification, is of some importance; he says: "If you ask why St. Mark considered it better rather to give to the Romans a gospel, written by himself, than the gospel of St. Matthew, (which contains nearly all that St. Mark relates, and besides this a great deal that in the second gospel is omitted,) I could not find any other probable reason but this, that Mark had only known the Syro-Chaldaic, not the Greek gospel of St. Matthew,

when he wrote his gospel at Rome."*) Still also this combination labors under great difficulties, and is scarcely more probable than the original of St. Augustin, or those suggested by other modern writers. Hence we prefer to give up all these conjectures and to say with the learned Dr. Haneberg, that none of the three Evangelists knew or used the writing of the other. The reasons for this opinion are as follows: 1) The tradition knows nothing of this supposed connection between these gospels; in all passages extant of the second and third century, on the origin of them, nothing is mentioned of it. What St. Augustin and others say on it, is no doubt their own conjecture, but no tradition on the question. 2) If the statement, given by St. Irenaeus on the time of the origin of the gospels is correct, then the tradition would be even decidedly against such a dependency between them; for according to him Matthew wrote a very short time before Mark and Luke, and this in a far distant country, so that, considering all the circumstances, the latter could not have known the gospel of St. Matthew at the time when they set to work, to write their own. 3) The reason adduced by Patritius, for his combination, speaks yet stronger for our view. 4) The gospels themselves, if you let out of sight the great conformity of the wording, give no indications of such a relation of one to another. On the contrary, in many instances you might rather think that if one had known the writing of the other, he would have expressed himself differently in order to avoid apparent contradictions. We know well, St. Luke speaks of such who have written before him, yet even Patritius and the other authors of the opposite view admit, that by those referred to in this passage, St. Luke does not comprehend either St. Matthew or St. Mark,†) but

*) Patrit. p. I, p. 61, 62.

†) St. Luke, according to the statement of St. Irenaeus, could not have known the second gospel, but even if so, the words of the prologue would rather indicate, that St. Luke did not rely on written documents in his composition, but on the oral traditions of eye-witnesses.

means some other writers of whom history gives no further account. 5) We deem it quite unnecessary to resort to such a supposition; it is commonly agreed on that the three gospels are entirely independent, in regard to the source from which they derive their material. The first gospel gives a synopsis of the oral preaching of St. Matthew, the second of St. Peter and the third of St. Paul; and yet there exists the most surprising conformity in regard to the events, miracles, parables, discourses, related according to this threefold source of these gospels; now if such a conformity of the material can and even must be admitted, without having recourse to a dependency of one on the other in regard to it, why should a similar conformity of the language be impossible without such a supposition? The apostles remained for a good while together in Jerusalem or at least in Palestine. St. John seems not to have gone from thence before 57, A. Ch.; St. Matthew, if we follow St. Irenaeus, was there even in the year 63, A. Ch. Considering moreover that the apostles stated the facts, relating to the life of Christ in the most simple manner, and gave the parables and discourses of the Lord, Who used the Aramaic language, as exact as it can be expected in the Greek language, which no doubt they also used in their oral preaching besides their own, should all this not suffice to explain the great conformity of the language in the three gospels, which pretend to be a summary of the oral preaching of the apostles?

6. In our foregoing remarks, the question, what was the principal design of each of these three Evangelists in writing their gospels, is already answered; for it is no other but what we repeatedly stated according to the traditions, that is, to give a written record of the common, oral preaching of the apostles. Still besides this primary object, we must admit a secondary in the first and third gospel. St. Matthew, preaching in Palestine, and writing for the inhabitants of that country, endeavored to make manifest from the events of the life of Christ and His miracles and discourses, that He was really

the Messiah foretold by the prophets; hence he gives more quotations of the Old Testament, than the other Evangelists. St. Luke, besides giving the apostolical preaching, intended, as he expressly tells us in his prologue, to trace diligently all things from the beginning, and to write them in order; he goes therefore, as we said above, further back in his narrative, and observes nearly always the chronological order. St. Mark has been called the epitomist of St. Matthew, but a careful comparison of the two gospels shows evidently that such an assertion is entirely incorrect; though the shortest of the three gospels, in some instances it gives a larger detail of the circumstances than the other, and contains, at least, some facts not contained at all in the gospel of St. Matthew.*) We think, therefore, St. Mark's *one sole* object was, to give the synopsis of the preaching of St. Peter.†)

7. It is generally known, that on account of the number *four*, the vision of Ezechiel, chap. 1, v. 10, has been applied

*) In the whole there are six statements, entirely peculiar to St. Mark, namely, Chap. 1, 26—29; Chap. 7, 32—37; Chap. 8, 22—26: Chap. 11, 1,—14; Chap. 13, 33—37; Chap. 16, 9—11.

†) D. Aberle of Tuebingen proposes a new hypothesis concerning the design of each of the four Evangelists; he supposes they wrote for an apologetical purpose. Not long after Stephen had been stoned, the Sanhedrim published a document of proscription against all Christians, as St. Justin M. testifies. The design of St. Matthew was, according to this hypothesis, to refute the charges contained in this document, by showing in clear statements to the Jews, how Jesus of Nazareth proved Himself to be the Messiah. The trial of St. Paul involved the cause of the Christian name before the Roman emperor. St. Luke, says Aberle, defended the Christian name in his gospel, and St. Paul, especially in the acts, but in a very cautious way, so as not to offend or excite. The Muratorian fragment calls, therefore, St. Luke the juris studiosus secundus, the attorney of St. Paul. The gospel of St. Mark is written for the Jewish proselytes, among the pagans, who accepted more readily the preaching of the apostles. St. Mark represents to them Christ, especially in the light of His miracles, without entering, like St. Matthew, in the arguments, drawn from the Old Testament. St. John finally opposed the Rabbinism, into which, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Judaism tranformed itself. The foundation of this hypothesis, however, seems to us to be rather weak. (Quartalsch 1863, n. 1.)

to the four gospels in very ancient times, though not always in the same order. St. Irenaeus attributes to Matthew the Cherubim with the human countenance, to Mark the Eagle, to Luke the Ox, and to John the Lion. St. Augustin says: Of those that interpreted the four animals in the Apocalypse of the four Evangelists, *they* seem to me preferable who attribute the Lion to Matthew, Man to Mark, the Calf to Luke, and the Eagle to John. St. Jerom finally followed the application which is now generally adopted; in his prologue to St. Matthew, he ascribes Man to Matthew, the Lion to Mark, the Ox to Luke, and the Eagle to John. From the application of this vision of the gospels, whatever one may think of its appropriateness, we learn at least this much, that from the days of St. Irenaeus there were neither more nor fewer gospels within the church, than four. Origen*) testifies to the same fact, saying: "The church has four gospels, the heretics have a great number of them."

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VI.—*The Chronology of the Gospels.*

1. Chronology is the eye of history; without it all becomes obscure and confused, and the greatest events are in danger of losing their reality, to sink down from the open daylight into the shadowy regions of tales and myths; and yet, chronology offers frequently great difficulties; for the ancient authors were not as careful, as we might wish, in stating in clear numbers or terms the dates of the facts which they relate; they mostly give only a few hints, to indicate the time or year of which they treat, plain enough for their cotemporaries to be understood, but full of obscurities frequently to posterity. Thus we find it also in the gospels, and this the more so, as they are,

*) Origen. Hom. in Luc. opp. Tom. III. p. 933.

if you perhaps except St. Luke's gospel, not intended to be strictly historical books. Hence we must be prepared to meet a good many difficulties in establishing a satisfactory chronology of the gospels.

2. The chronological dates which we find in the gospels, we divide into two classes, viz; 1) of those, from which the year of the birth and death of Christ must be derived; and 2) of the others, by which we are enabled to connect in a continuous series the events of the public life of Christ.

Those of the first class are contained principally in four passages, namely *a*) St. Luke, ch. 2, v. 1, 2. *b*) St. Luke ch. 3, v. 1, 2, *c*) St. Luke, ch. 2, v. 42 compared with St. Matthew, ch. 2, v. 22, *d*) St. John, ch. 2, v. 20. The first passage (St. Luke ch. 2, v. 1, 2,) refers to the year of the birth of our Divine Redeemer. "And it came that in those days a decree went forth from Augustus Cesar that the whole world should be enrolled. This first enrollment was made by Cyrinus, the governor of Syria." D. D. Kenrick remarks, of this decree no profane history has made mention, following herein *Olshausen.* This is only correct in regard to Josephus Flavius who makes no mention of this enrollment. But Suetonius states in the life of Augustus, ch. 27 " Censum populi ter egit ;*) and from a remarkable historical monument, the exact years of these three enrollments are perfectly known. Augustus, when at the point of death, ordered, that a summary (index) of his principal deeds should be engraved in brazen tables, and put up before his mausoleum.†) A copy of this summary, engraved in stone, has been preserved at the entrance of a temple in *Ancyra* in Galatia, dedicated to Augustus. Accord to this monument, Augustus undertook a census or enrollment at three different times, namely 1) in the sixth year of his consulship, U. C. 726; then 2) in the year 746 U. C., and 3) the last near his death, 766 U. C. Of these three enrollments,

*) Suet. Aug, 101.

†) Patrit. P. III, 1, c.

we will endeavor to make it plain to the reader, that the second coincides with the one, to which St. Luke refers. But before we enter on this question, we must meet, first, another objection, which has been made denying the possibility of any enrollment, ordered by a Roman emperor at that time in Palestine; for then, they say, Palestine was not yet a Roman province, it had its own King, Herod, the Idumean; therefore the enrollment could not be extended to this country. To this we answer, the statement of St. Luke, according to whom, though Herod was yet living, such an enrollment was really taken up in Palestine by the order of Augustus Cesar, is well supported by profane history, from which we know, that Herod was a *socius Romanus ex non aequo foedere*, that is, not by a free treaty, but by having been made king of a country, that was already entirely in the power of the Romans. Such socii were in the uttermost dependency upon the Roman empire, so that the Jews, when taking the oath of fidelity to Herod, their king, had at the same time to swear also an oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor. Such countries had their own administration and also their own laws, but they were deprived of the sovereignty, which belonged to the emperor. Hence we could, even without the express statement of St. Luke, considering only the relation, in which at that time Palestine stood to the Roman empire, conclude with all certainty, that, if an enrollment was ordered in the year 746 U. C., the same was also extended to Palestine.

3. But how is it to be made conclusive, that the enrollment, ordered in the year 746 U. C., is really the very same of which St. Luke speaks in the passage quoted. To show this, the second chronological statement must be expounded and compared with the first; in this second passage we read: "now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being procurator of Judea, and Herod being tetratch of Galilee.....the word of the Lord was on John, the son of Zachary, in the Desert;" again in v. 22, 23, of the same chapter, we read,

that Christ at the time of His baptism "*was beginning about the age of thirty years.*" Augustus died on the 19th of August, in the year 767, U. C., and hence, the beginning of the fifteenth year of his successor falls in the month of August of 781, U. C. Now if we subtract *about* 30 years, the birth of Christ would fall in the year of 751, U. C., since He was according to the foregoing statements about 30 years old in the year of His baptism. But that this calculation cannot be correct, is evident from the well established fact, that Herod, who was king of Judea at the time of the birth of Christ and who persecuted the infant Saviour, died not long before easter of the year 750, U. C., according to Josephus Flavius. To remove this most perplexing difficulty, Pagius has observed, that the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius is not dated from the death of Augustus, that is, from the year 767, U. C., but from the year, when Tiberius had been adopted by Augustus in his life-time as co-emperor; this event took place in the year 764 or 765, U. C.; Patritius,*) in his most elaborate dessertation on this question, modifies the conjecture of Pagius by saying, that the years of Tiberius are not counted from the time of this adoption, but of his being sent into the Oriental provinces, invested with the plenary power over them, which event, however, he places in the same year, as Pagius the adoption to the imperial throne, namely 764, U. C., whence he derives, that the beginning of the fifteenth year of Tiberius falls in the year 778, U. C.†). Christ, being 30 years old in the year 778, U. C., was consequently born at the end of the year 747, U. C., and as He died on the cross in the year 782, it follows that, being baptised 778, His

*) Patritius III. p. 414. p. n, 7.

†) Patrit. l. c. 413. n. 5, Hoc posito manifestum est quintum decimum annum ex quo Tiberio imperium illud delatum fuerat, Judaeis et Antiochenis incepisse anno U. C. 778, qua ratione patet Joannem munus suum suscipere potuisse eo tempore quo necesse fuit, ut Christus ortus an. U. C. 747 dici possit ad Joannem adiisse annos natus, ut ait Lucas, *quasi triginta*, in crucem vero actus U. C. 782.

public life comprises a period of three years and some months. But to this computation which indeed would solve the difficulty, two grave objections are opposed; first, that the administration of the provinces of the Orient were not conferred on Tiberius in the year 764 U. C., but most probably (exeunte anno 765,) towards the end of the year 765, some say*) even, in the year 766, U. C; secondly, that Pilate, who was governor of Judea in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, did not occupy this position before the year 779, U. C; for the statements, by which Sanclemente proves this year to be the first of Pilate's governorship in Judea, are so definite, that all the learning and sagacity of Patritius cannot prevail against them.†) Hence a moderate modification of this combination seems to be necessary, for which the required foundation will not be too far fetched, according to our judgment. We can see no other reason, why Patritius by all means endeavors to make out the year 778 to be the fifteenth of Tiberius, but because he takes it for granted, that the public life of Christ comprised *three* years and three months, wherefore, if John had not begun to preach and baptize before the year 779, U. C., the death of Christ could not have taken place in the first months of the year 782, U. C., a date, which is too strongly testified to, to be changed. But it will appear further on below, that it is almost certain that the period of the life of Christ from His baptism to His death, comprises not more than two years and three months; and hence it causes no difficulty whatsoever against the year of the death of Christ to admit the year 779, U. C., to be the 15th year of Tiberius; but this would of course demand a change of the year of the birth of Christ; for if Christ was aged thirty years towards the end of 779, or the beginning of 780, at which time He was baptized, He was not born before the end of 748, U. C., contrary to Patritius, who puts the birth of the Lord at the

*) Schegg. l. c.

†) Patrit. III. p. 463, n. 12, 13, 14.

end of 747, U. C. This change, however, cannot cause any grievous difficulty. The census, which was ordered in the year 746, U. C., and probably was not commenced before 747, required a good while, until it was completed, especially in distant provinces, and perhaps under local difficulties, as we may well presume to have existed in Judea, not being yet perfectly a province of the Roman empire. To resume in a few words the result of our investigation, we say, Christ was born at the end (25th Decemb.) of the year 748, U. C. John commenced to preach and baptize 779, U. C.; Christ was baptized at the end of 779 or at the beginning of 780, U. C., and died at easter of 782, U. C.*)

5. Some authors,†) however, prefer another solution of the difficulty; they consider it unsafe to count the years of Tiberius from any date before the death of Augustus, and begin, therefore, the fifteenth year of this emperor with the 19th day of of August, 781, U. C. To reconcile this date with the age of Christ and His death in 782, U. C., they say, St. Luke in the beginning of his third chapter, did not intend to give the date of the baptism of Christ, but rather the beginning of His public preaching; but this commenced, according to the synoptical gospels, not immediately with His baptism, but about one year after, when He returned from Judea to Galilee, in the beginning of the year 781, U. C. From this it would follow, that the last year of the life of Christ, partly coincided with the fifteenth of Tiberius, beginning at the 19th day of August, 781, and ending August 782, during which time Christ died. With this, they say, agrees then perfectly, what Tertullian states concerning the year of the death of Christ, saying: "In the fif-

*) Doellinger puts the death of Christ in the year 783 U. C., on the 7th of April; therefore also the baptism of Christ one year later, that is, at the beginning of 781; but he does not give the facts, on which this calculation is based. (Christenthum u. Kirche p. 41.)

†) Wiseler, Reithmeier, Schegg.

teenth year of Tiberius, Christ suffered; *) and again: "This passion (of our Lord) was accomplished under Tiberius Cesar, under the Consuls Rubellius Geminus, and Rufius Geminus in the month of March, in the paschal time, on the VIII day before the calendae of April, on the first of the unleavened bread.†) The result of this solution is the same, as of the forgoing; it enjoys the advantage of reconciling the statement of Tertullian, Clement of A., and other fathers with St. Luke, but its foundation, namely, the interpretation of St. Luke, chap. 3, v. 1, as stated above, appears to us not sufficiently established.

6. St. Luke continues, chap. 2, v. 2: "This first enrollment (of Palestine) was made by Cyrinus, the Governor of Syria."‡) This remark of the Evangelist causes no small difficulty. D. D. Kenrick, says in the note to this passage: "From Josephus it appears, that Publius Sulpicius Quirinus§) was not raised to the dignity of proconsul of Syria for nearly ten years afterwards. (Antiq. XVI. 13, Tacit. Ann. III, 68.) Sentius Saturninus was made proconsul towards the end of the life of Herod. To him the enrollment is ascribed by Tertullian. Calmet suggests that the (Greek) text might be rendered: "This enrollment was made prior to that made by Cyrinus, (or rather prior then Cyrinus was proconsul,") which enrollment, made by Cyrinus, was well (better) known to all. Olshausen thinks that the change of an accent‡) (*αὕτη* into *αὐτή*) might remove the whole difficulty. It would be better to read *αὐτη* pro *αὕτη*, so that this idea would be expressed in the words: The taxation *itself* (which at that

*) Tertull. c. Iud. c. 8 Hujus (Tiberii) XV anno imperii passus est Christus. Thus, also, Lactant. Inst. IV. I0. Orosius H. VII. 10. August. de Trin., IV, 10.

†) Quae passio perfecta est sub Tiberio Caesare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino et Rufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschae, die VIII Cal. April. die prima azymorum. Tert. l. c. Others put the death of the Lord in the 16th year of Tiberius, following Clement of Alexandria.

‡) Haec descriptio prima facta est a praeside Syriae Cyrino. *Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίνου.*"

§) Quirinus is in Greek, *Κύρινος*.

time would merely have been undertaken,) took place first under the proconsulate of Quirinus." Schegg, however, rejects these interpretations of the text, as being contrary to the genius of the Greek language, and refers to Patritius, who gives a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty; he says, that Sanclemente in his celebrated work, "De anno Chr. Dom. natal." IV. c. 3, 4, p. 413 offers an ancient inscription, found in the year 1764, between the villa Hadriani, and the via Tiburtina, from which it appears, that a Roman of consular rank twice administrated Syria under the reign of Augustus.*) Though the proper name of this Roman, who twice governed Syria is broken off from the mutilated inscription, yet, all circumstances of the history of the time being considered, no other Roman of consular rank, could be the person referred to, except Quirinus. The inscription contains nothing, that would not agree with him, and something that agrees with him only. Hence it appears, that Quirinus twice was in Syria; the first time in company with Saturninus Sent., probably with an extraordinary power for the census, as it was very usual among the Romans to send an extraordinary *censitor* into the provinces, for arranging the finances,†) and then, again, in the year 759 U. C., as the ordinary Governor of Syria. Patritius refers to another inscription for the confirmation of the foregoing; but we think what we have stated, will be sufficient to remove all reasonable doubt, and solve the difficulty.

6. Another date may be made out of St. Luke, chap. 2, v. 2; compared with Matthew, chapter 2, v. 22; in the second passage we read: "And hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea, in the room of Herod, his father, he (Joseph) was afraid to go thither;" and in the first quotation:

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*) Patritius gives a facsimile of this inscription, adding: Quamquam inde avulsum fuerit nomen ejus, cui titulus positus erat, nihil tamen hic reperias quod Quirino non congruat, aliquid vero, quod *huic uni*, ut illud,, Divi Augusti *iterum Syriam*."

†) Schegg. p. 43.

"And when He (Jesus) was *twelve years old*, they, going up to Jerusalem, according to the custom of the feast.....the Child Jesus remained in Jerusalem." Now from the passage of St. Matthew we see, that Joseph, returning from Egypt, avoided Judea, being afraid of Archelaus, indeed not for himself, but for the Child. His parents went every year to Jerusalem, at the solemn day of easter, the Child Jesus, as it is most likely, the *first* time, when He was twelve year old—why just in the twelfth year? Certainly there was no obligation of the law for this age, and physically, there was no impediment before the twelfth year. Must we not think there was some other reason, that the Child went up just at the twelfth year? Now Josephus Flavius relates, that Archelaus, whom the Child had to fear, was deposed and sent into exile on account of his cruelty, in the tenth year of his reign, perhaps not long before the easter of 760, U. C. The Child Jesus, being in the twelfth year in 760, or beyond twelve years in 761, U. C., had nothing more to fear at this time from this tyrant, and, therefore, went up with His parents to Jerusalem. Certainly this coincidence is a confirmation of the foregoing computation.

7. Finally, also, from St. John, chap. 2, v. 20, we may derive a confirmation for our chronology of the birth and life of Christ. When Jesus had driven all the money-changers out of the temple, he said to the Jews, demanding a sign of Him, to justify what He had done: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews then said: "Six and forty years was this temple in building, and wilt Thou raise it up in three days?" This is supposed, remarks D. D. Kenrick, most properly, to have been the time occupied in the repairing or rebuilding of the temple, under Herod the Great, which commenced in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was continued after his death, nearly up to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem." The eighteenth year of Herod's reign falls in the year 733 to 734, U. C., consequently the complete 46th year of the rebuilding into the year 780, U. C.; which exactly agrees

with the foregoing calculation; for Christ was baptized, as we said, about the beginning of the year 780, U. C., being born at the end of 748, He was about thirty years old in 780 U. C., and it was at the first easter after His baptism, that is to say, in the year 780, when the Jews said, that the temple was six and forty years in building.

8. Having established the dates of the birth and death of Christ, we have now to investigate into the second class of chronological statements of the gospels, namely, of those that refer to the extension and connection of His public life. The synoptical gospels, though relating extensively the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, give no indication whatsoever, at what time of the year this event took place; yet they add, that immediately after the baptism, He retired into the desert for *forty days*. Comparing this with what we read in the first and second chapter of St. John, we find out the time of the baptism very nearly. According to St. John, Christ appeared after baptism, and of course after the forty days spent in the desert, again on the Jordan, where the Baptist pointed to Him, saying: "Behold the Lamb of God!" Not many days after, Christ returned with His first disciples to Galilee, where He wrought His first miracle in Cana. After this He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and His brethren, and His disciples, and they remained there *not many days*. (St. John, chap. 2, v. 12.) And *the passover of the Jews was at hand*, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. Now easter falling towards the end of March, the time, of which St. John says that the passover was at hand, was about the middle of March; if we allow for His stay at Cana and Capernaum, His journey from Judea to Galilee, and His sojourn in Judea near the Jordan, after the temptation, in the whole about three or four weeks, we come back to the middle of February; if we then count back the forty days spent in the desert, we come down to the beginning of January, for the time of His baptism. This agrees perfectly with the ancient tradition, both of His

birth and His baptism; for if Christ was at His baptism about *thirty* years, we may safely conclude that the day of His birth was not far from the day of the year, on which He was baptized; now according to the most probable traditions, the day of His birth is the 25th of December, hence near to the beginning of January, when He was baptised. On the day of the baptism itself, tradition points to the 6th of January, which, we may say, is exactly the day derived from the calculation above.

9. After the passover, Christ did not return from Jerusalem to Galilee, but, as St. John states in ch. 3, 2, 22, Jesus and His disciples came into the country of Judea, and there He abode with them, and baptized, whilst John was also baptizing in Ennon, near Salim. But when Jesus heard that John was delivered up (into prison), He retired into Galilee. (St. Matth. 4, 12.) St. John tells us, that He took His way through Samaria, and points out the time of this return in the words of the Saviour, saying to His disciples: "Do ye not say; there are yet *four months*, and *then the harvest* cometh?" The harvest commenced usually in Palestine in the middle of the month Nisan: four months back from this, we have the middle of the month Kislev, of our December, for the time, when Christ, being on His way to Galilee, spoke these words. Hence we are enabled to follow the Lord in all His movements during the first year of His public life. He was baptized at the beginning of January, retired into the desert, appeared again about the middle of February on the Jordan, went back with His first disciples to Galilee, wrought His first miracle in Cana, came down to Capernaum, went up to Jerusalem about the middle of March for the passover, abode afterwards with His disciples in the country of Judea, and returned at the end of the year through Samaria to Galilee.

10. Thus far there was no danger of going astray; but now we arrive at a "bivium" that is, a spot having two ways; some of the authors go to the right, the others to the left; whom

shall we follow? St. John, having related the journey of Christ from Judea through Samaria, tells us, that He came again into Cana of Galilee, where He performed the second miracle, healing the son of a certain ruler, (ch. 4, v. 46—54). Then he adds immediately (ch. 5, v. 1,): "After these things was a festival day of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." Maldonat, always cheerful and spirited, remarks on this passage: "St. John would have saved us much molestation and contention had he added but one word to declare, which festival of the Jews this was." Then he adds, that nearly all agree in regard to this question thus far, that this festival was one of the three, for which the law commanded every one to come to the temple, that is, either easter, or pentecost or the feast of the tabernacles, and gives finally his sentence in favor of pentecost. His reason against easter is derived from the manner, how St. John expresses himself; for when St. John remarks: "There was *a* festival day," it is as if he would say: "There was *some* festival day, but not the festival par excellence.*) Patritius declares himself in favor of the feast of the tabernacles. His argumentation is as follows: "At the time of this festival John the Baptist had already been put to death; for Christ, speaking at the festival of the Baptist to the Jews in Jerusalem, says of him: "He *was* a burning and a shining light," (ch. 5, v. 35,); but the Baptist sent his disciples to Christ a good while after easter, as appears from the 6th chapter of St. Luke, where we read, that the disciples of Christ, going through the cornfields, plucked the ears and ate, rubbing them through their hands, on the second first sabbath; this occurred, as Patritius says, no doubt in the time of harvest, between easter and pentecost. After other events, related in the same 6th chapter, we read in the 7th chapter, that the Baptist sent his disciples to Christ; hence the Baptist was yet living about pente-

*) Maldonat: "Itaque cum dicit,, *erat dies festus Judaeorum*," perinde est ac si dicat: agebatur dies quidam festus Judaeorum, non agebatur dies ille festus per excellentiam.

cost, and consequently, the festival day, when Christ said of him, that he *was* a burning light, could neither be easter nor pentecost, but must be the next following great festival, that is, the feast of the tabernacles.*) According to this, St. John omitted to mention the second easter of the public life of Christ, and between the end of the 4th chapter of St. John and the beginning of the 5th, would be an interval of about nine months, that St. John passed over in silence. And again, as St. John in ch. 6, v. 4, says "Now the passover, the festival day of the Jews, was at hand," another interlapse of about six months must be admitted. But all this could be granted according to that, which we said on the design of St. John, in writing his gospel, provided that the foundation of the whole structure of the argumentation would be more solid and safe; for the whole rests on the supposition, that in the words of Christ "John *was* a burning light" the death of the Baptist is expressed. We consulted Maldonat, Cornelius a Lapide, Calmet, A. Maier, and Kenrick on this passage; none of these authors finds the supposed sense in it; Calmet interprets†) "John the Baptist was four months then already imprisoned; this light therefore was somewhat obscured, and put under the bushel, soon to be extinguished entirely." And we think nobody can deny that the words of Christ do not contain more than that John B. was not more preaching publicly; that he was already dead, might be, but it does not follow from these words; but this being uncertain, the whole argumentation fails; and this the more so, as the time when the Baptist sent his disciples to Christ, cannot be derived with perfect certainty from the beginning of the 6th chapter of St. Luke, compared with the 7th; for it is for more than one reason, most probable, that St. Luke just in this chapter does not observe the exact chronological

*) Patrit. II, p. 402.

†) "Joannes Baptista tunc quatuor menses in carcerem datus fuerat; lucerna haec quodammodo obscurata erat et sub modio posita, brevi penitus extinguenda supplicio." *Calmet.*

order;*) whence no certainty can be obtained for this question from the passages referred to. D. D. Kenrick, therefore, properly remarks: "Many think, that it was the feast of the Purim, or Lots, instituted in the time of Esther to commemorate the providential deliverance of the Jews from the massacre decreed against them." This festival was celebrated the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar, towards the end of February, four weeks before easter. At present, we may call this the most common opinion among the authors; it was first proposed by Keppler,†) who was not only a great astronomer, but also a chronologist, and by Petavius, (aquila Jesuitarum) ‡) though both of them were also inclined to think of the encenia of the Temple, towards the end of December; L. Hug, Tholuck, Olshausen, Maier, and especially Wieseler,§) gave their votes for the festival of the Purim; A. Maier in his commentary on the gospel of St. John says, that, as soon after in ch. 6, v. 4, the passover is mentioned to be at hand, you are compelled to think, that the festival day, mentioned ch. 5, v. 1, was the preceding feast of the Purim.‖) Reithmeier¶) declares, among the different opinions the least founded is for the festival of easter; whereas the most weighty reasons stand for that festival, which was celebrated in the middle of the month Adar, that is, the festival of the Purim. The succession of time, says Haneberg,**) scarcely admits us to understand another festival. Their principal reasons

*) Reithmeier says: "The second first Sabbath (St. Luke 6, 1,) is to be understood of the Sabbath in the Octave of easter; but of which easter? Most probably of the second (John 6. 4,) and the relation of the event transposed out of the chronological order; its place would be after Luke ch. 9, v. 17."—p. 456.

†) Keppler. Eclog. chronic. Frankf. 1613.

‡) Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. Haeres, lib. I2 de doctrina temp. I7, XXVIII. p. 201, Colon.

§) Wieseler, Chronolog. Synopt 1843.

‖) A. Maier. II, p. 3.

¶) Reithm. Einleitung, p. 357.

**) Haneberg, l. c. p 536.

are 1) as already indicated, the succession of time, which otherwise would be too much interrupted in the gospel of St. John. 2) the manner, in which St. John mentions this festival; for it is quite probable, that the Evangelist omitted to give the name of it because it was not known by those for whom he next wrote his gospel, and being of no further importance he considered it more proper, to avoid an explication of it;*) 3) the very same reason, for which so many authors endeavored to establish their opinion for another festival. They supposed to be incontestably certain, that four festivals of easter fell within the public life of Christ; but this supposition is not supported by tradition; according to the testimonies of the ancient fathers there are but three easter festivals to be admitted from the baptism of Christ until to His death on the cross, namely the first, some months after His baptism, (John, ch. 2, v. 13,) the second, for which He came not to Jerusalem, (John, VI, 4), and the third, on which He suffered death on the cross.†) (John ch 11. 55, 12, 1.) This is according to Petavius,‡) the common belief of the fathers. Reithmeier§) says therefore, Eusebius, who on account of the prophecy of Daniel admits four easter festivals, stands almost alone among the ancient authors; hence if St. John did not omit any of the easter-festivals within the public life of Christ, the festival mentioned ch. 5, v. 1, must fall not long before the second easter, and consequently we are as A. Maier says, compelled to understand by it the festival of Purim.‖)

*) Some manuscripts have the definite article "*the* festival" but A. Maier says: there are so strong witnesses against it, that it cannot be any longer defended.

†) Doellinger says without any hesitation: "Zwei Jahre und einige Monate waehrte seino offentliche Lehrthaetigkeit" Two years and some months lasted His public preaching "Christenthum and Kirche" p, 10.

‡) Petav. de Doctr. temp. tom, II. 1, XII. c. 17; he refers to St. Irenaeus, adv. Haer. II, 22. n, 3, Origen. c. Cels. II 12, Apollonius Laod. ap. Hieron. in Dan IX. 24.—Epiphan. Haers. 51 n. 22.

§) Reithmeier. l. c. p. 456.

‖) Some objected, that the Purim were not a festival of obligation; but

10. The exposition of the foregoing date being granted to be correct, the remaining chronological passages, offer no further difficulties. It is, then evident by itself, that the passover mentioned, St. John, chap. 6, v. 4, is the second of the public life of Christ, or of the year 781, U. C. After the miracle of the multiplication of the bread, and Christ's discourse on the succeeding day, St. John remarks: ch. 7, v. 1, "After these things, Jesus went about in Galilee; for He would not go about in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill Him;" indicating in these words the cause, why Christ did not go up to the passover, and also, that he passes over an interlapse of time, the events of which he would not describe; hence he adds immediately in the second verse: "Now the Jewish feast of tabernacles was at hand." This feast was celebrated six months after easter, from the 15th to the 22d of the month of Tischri, (October,) and like easter and pentecost, called all the males to Jerusalem. (Exod. 23, 17.) It was instituted to be a memorial of the dwelling of Israel in tabernacles, on their way through the desert, and since it fell into the autumn, it was also the time of returning thanks to God for the fruit of the vine, as well as of other trees, which were gathered about this time. Hence it was also called the feast of ingatherings. From this we see, that Christ remained in the 781, U. C., from spring until fall in Galilee. From this time, as the synoptical gospels remark, He announced His passion to His disciples; this is also the sense of St. Luke, chap. 6, 9, 51: "And it came to pass, when the days of His being taken up were completed, that He set His face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem." He then "set out for Jerusalem, yet not openly, but as in secret," (John 7, 10.) and arrived there, having passed through Samaria, (Luke, chap. 9, 52, 53,) about the middle of the festival. On this occasion He came, probably, into the house of Mary and

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we answer, the encenia were neither of obligation, and nevertheless Christ went up for this feast to Jerusalem.

Martha. After the festival, we find the Lord out of Jerusalem again, (St. Luke 10, 17—11,) and according to Luke, chap. 11, 1, probably back in Galilee. In Luke, chap. 13, 22, He is said to be again on His way to Jerusalem, teaching in all the cities and towns through which He passed. Patritius understands this of the journey to the feast of the dedication of the temple, or the encenia, towards the end of December, on which occasion, according to St. John, He was in Jerusalem, (St. John, chap. 10, v. 22.) "And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch." Therefore, all that we read in Luke, chap. 10, 17—chap. 13, 11, Patritius places between the feast of tabernacles and the encenia. The Jews becoming extremely exasperated against Him, He went again beyond the Jordan, to that place where John first baptised, and there He abode. (John, chap. 10, 39, 40.) Not long afterward, He was called in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, to Bethania, by the death of Lazarus, whom He raised to life again. In consequence of this miracle, the Sanhedrim devised to put Him to death. Wherefore, Jesus walked no more openly among the Jews, but retired to Ephrem, near the desert. Thence, however, He probably returned soon to Galilee.*) Patritius,†) therefore, places all that we read, St. Luke, chap. 13, v. 23,

*) St. Luke, chap. 13, 31., plainly shows that Christ was again in Galilee.

†) To our great satisfaction, we read in Patrit., P. II, 417: "Iter a Luca relatum c. 17, v. ii, illud est, quo Christus, Ephremo profectus, eque Judaea, *per-Samar*iam in Galilaeam regressus, inde Hierosolymam ultimo ire perrexit, inque eam pervenit paucis diebus ante obitum ; neque putes inceptum hoc iter post illa, quae ante c. 17, v. ii, leguntur, nam Christi ex urbe Ephremo in Galilaeam reversi Lucas superius in c.13,31, jam meminerat, et quaecumque is retulit post c. 13, 22, omnia post Christi ex illa urbe discessum, et in Galilaeam adventum acta sunt ; sed nunc mentionem itineris hujus postremi, dudum incepti, Lucas injecit, ut nos doceat, tum ea, quae proxime narravit, tum quae statim est narraturus, intra illud tempus evenisse, quo Christus hoc iter faciebat. Modus ipse, quo Lucas loquitur, id evincit ; non dicit Christum tunc iter incepisse, sed *quum iter faceret.*

until chap. 18, 31, between the retreat to Ephrem, and His last journey to Jerusalem. St. Luke, says, in chap. 17, v. 11: "And it came to pass, as He was going to Jerusalem, He passed through Samaria and Galilee." This seems strange, but if Jesus, on His last journey to Jerusalem, set out from Ephrem, and intended, on His way, to visit Galilee once more, He had first to pass through Samaria, before He came to Galilee. In the month of Adar, He was in Capernaum, where He paid the double drachm for the temple, which tax was collected in this month, (Matth. 17, 23.) Finally, easter drawing near, Jesus took to Him the twelve, and said to them: "Behold, we go to Jerusalem," etc., (Matth. 20, 17, Mark 10, 22, Luke 18, 31.) He took the way to Jericho, and it was probably the evening of the Sabbath, six days before the passover, according to St. John, when He arrived in Bethania. There He rested on the Sabbath,*) and entered the day after, or Sunday, in solemn procession into Jerusalem. Henceforth, we are sufficiently informed to follow the Lord, from day to day, until His death on the cross. To resume, now, the principal dates of the second year, (781, U. C.,) and the last three months of the public life of Christ, we are entitled from the foregoing, to state, as follows: Christ, having come to Galilee about the end of the first year, (780, U. C.,) went up to Jerusalem again after two months, towards the end of February; returned soon to Galilee, and remained there, without going up to Jerusalem to the passover, until the month of September, when He went up to the feast of tabernacles; He returned again to Galilee, and remained there until the end of December, when He visited the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem; thence He went beyond the Jordan, in the country of Perea, but soon after He was in Bethania near Jerusalem, from whence He retired to Ephrem, probably in the month of January, of the year 782, U. C. In

*) Constat ex iis, quae diximus, Matth. 26, 2, Christum in illo ultimo reditu, quo ex Galilaea in Judaeam venit, pridie Sabbati Bethaniam venisse, ipso vero Sabbato ibi quievisse, ubi illi coenam magnam fecerunt. *Maldonat.*

February, He was once more in Capernaum, and set then out, teaching on the way and therefore slowly moving, on His last journey to Jerusalem, which He entered on the 1st day of the passion-week, the 10th of Nisan, 782, U. C.

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VII.—*The Outlines of the Life of Christ.*

1.—THE GENEALOGIES OF CHRIST.

1. Having investigated the chronological dates of the gospels, and thus having gained already the main outlines of the life of Christ, we must now enter more into the detail of it, principally for two reasons, first, in order to clear up the most obvious difficulties which we encounter in the four gospels, and secondly, to bring nearer to the mind of the reader the full historical reality of the life of the Man-God, the God made flesh on earth; for to know Him, and to bear it in the mind, that He really dwelt among us, that men saw His glory, the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, this is indeed life everlasting. We hope, therefore, that this part of our treatise will be also of some practical use, though our principal design, to be faithful to our first purpose, must also in this part be to solve the difficulties in the gospels for the intellect, and rather to enlighten the mind, than to move the heart. Such a difficulty stares at us at the first step on our path. For in two of the gospels, of St. Matthew and St. Luke, a genealogy of Christ is embodied, and there are great differences and even apparent contradictions between both of these genealogies. We cannot avoid entering on them, but we will be as short as possible.

2. Even in the first centuries, two great differences were observed in these two genealogies; 1) that each of them enumerates

different ancestors of Christ; and 2) that according to St. Luke, Joseph was the son of Heli, whilst Matthew calls him the son of Jacob. To solve these objections, Eusebius, in the 1st book of his ecclesiastical history, ch. 7, refers to the friend of Origen, Julius Africanus, who gives the following explication, as being founded on tradition, coming down from the relations (consanguinei) of Christ; he writes in his epistle to Aristides: "Mathan and Melchi, since they had successively the same woman for their wife, have received from her children, who were uterine brothers, that is, born of the same mother.....from Estha (for this we have received as the name of that woman) first Mathan, who descended from the line of Solomon, had the son Jacob; after Mathan's death, Melchi who led back his origin to Nathan (another son of David), as he descended from the same tribe, but from a different family, married her (Estha, the widow of Mathan) and had from her the son Heli. Thus we find that Jacob and Heli, though they descended from different lines, were uterine brothers. Of whom the one, namely Jacob, when his brother Heli had died without offspring, took the widow of the deceased for his wife, and begat of her Joseph, who was by natural relation his son, whence it is written: "and Jacob begat Joseph;" but who was according to the law, the son of Heli, since to him Jacob, his brother, had raised seed." (Deuter. 25, 5, 10). This solution of the difficulty is approved of by Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianz, Augustin and Joannes Damascenus, and indeed, we cannot see, what could be objected to it, even if it was not based on tradition, but only a conjecture of Julius Africanus; for there is no doubt, that with the Jews, the names in genealogies were given either according to the order of natural or legal descent. The order of natural descent, means the succession of the legitimate children to their fathers; the order of the legal descent gives the succession of the children according to the law of the levirate-marriage. If an Israelite died without male offspring, the brother or the next relation of the deceased had to marry the wife of the defunct, the children,

however, begotten in such a marriage, were *legally* considered to be the offspring of the deceased, not of their natural father. An Israelite, therefore, could have two fathers, and two pedigrees, one by nature, the other by law; and this was according to Julius Africanus also the case with Joseph. Moreover it is well explained, how Jacob and Heli could be brothers, without having the same lineage; they were step-brothers, having the same mother, but different fathers, of whom one descended from David through Solomon, the other through Nathan.*) The difference of the ancestors of Christ, up to David, in the two genealogies, cause, considered in this light, no further difficulty.

3. St. Augustine, though he approved of the foregoing combination, proposes two other ways to evade the difficulty; 1) that Joseph, being the son of Jacob, could be the son of Heli by adoption, not by the levirate-marriage; 2) that Heli was the grandfather of Joseph from his mother's side. The first supposition has been afterwards more developed, but without any success. Some supposed, Heli is synonymous with Heliakim, Joachim, and concluded thence, that Heli was the actual father of the blessed Virgin and the adoptive-father of Joseph. According to this, St. Luke would give at once the natural genealogy of the blessed Virgin, and the legal of Joseph, of whom St. Matthew gives the natural lineage. Modern authors tried to improve this hypothesis by

*) Patritius enters in a very extensive dissertation on this point. He rejects the opinion of those, who supposed Joseph to be the son of Heli by adoption; such an adoption, he says, was not in use with the Jews, III, p. 94. He approves of the solution, given by Julius Africanus, p. 97, but he endeavors to make it more perfect; he thinks, that Joseph and the blessed Virgin were also near relations, the father of the blessed Virgin being a brother of Joseph from the same mother, but from another father. Also Clopas was a brother of Joseph. Mary Clopas was not the wife, but the daughter of Clopas, and hence a cousin of the blessed Virgin p. 104. We have no doubt of Joseph, being a brother of Clopas, but we cannot believe after all, that Patritius produced, neither that the father of the blessed Virgin was a half-brother of Joseph, nor that Mary Clopas was the daughter of Clopas; we shall see more of it further on below.

a different interpretation of St. Luke; instead of "Jesus being, as it was supposed, the son of Joseph, son of Heli" they translate: "Jesus being (though he was supposed to be the son of Joseph) the(grand) son of Heli, (by Mary, whose father he was). But we have to say against both of these conjectures, 1) that, as Patritius shows, there was no such adoption usual with the Jews, 2) that the modern translation is too violent, to be defended, 3) that it is not probable, that Heli and Joachim are synonymous names, and even if it were, nothing could be derived from it; for the names of the parents of the blessed Virgin are of a late, doutbful tradition.*) Finally there was no need of giving the genealogy of the blessed Virgin; the fact of her espousals to Joseph enabled the evangelist to prove our Lord's descent from David sufficiently through him. Although not the real father of Christ, he was legally reputed such, and this with much better right, than if he had been the father of a son by the law of leviration.†)

3. Of the other difficulties, raised against the genealogies, we will touch but two more, (the others, as less important,) omitting. The first of them is that between Joram and Ozias three descents are omitted by St. Matthew; for Jor am was father of Ochozias, who was father of Amazias, the father of Ozias. Why are they here omitted? We answer 1) because the object of the composer of a genealogy is not exactly to enter into all details, but to trace the descents in a sufficiently clear connection; 2)

*) The most ancient notice of the parents of the blessed Virgin, Joachim and Anna, is contained in the apocryphical protevangelium Jacobi c. I, dating back to the second century. From this it passed over into other apocryphial works f. ex, Evang. de nativ Mariae c. I. The latin Fathers down to the 6th century rejected most decidedly this and similar traditions. St. Jerom calls them "deliramenta apocryphorum," Jnnoc. I. in ep. ad Exsup: says, "Cetera autem, quae sub nomine Jacobi minoris scripta sunt, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse *damnanda*, " Schegg. St. Luke. I. 493.

†) Patitrius: " Longe verius Christi pater dici potuit, quam si hujus pater legalis fuisset, utpote cui vivo, ex ipsa sua solius uxore, in ipso conjugio et absque alius viri opera, Christus ortus est. III. g. 105.

as from v. 17, appears, the composer of the genealogy intended to obtain a conformity in the three periods of the descents, ascribing to each fourteen generations; hence he had to omit some of them in the second period, and he omitted, according to the opinion of the fathers, just these three kings on account of their wickedness, or of their connection with Achab and Jezabel, who were cursed by Elias, 3 Kings. 21, 21. To the question, for which purpose the periods were made uniform, we answer with Calmet, it was done by the composer for the sake of memory, as it was usual with the Jews; St. Matthew inserted it, as he found it, because it was essentially correct.

The other difficulty exists in regard to Jechonias; for 1) he was not the son, but the grand-son of Josias, and the son of Joakim. 2) Jechonias had probably no brothers; therefore it is conjectured by Calmet, that a link of this chain has been dropped through the mistake of the copyist; in 1 paral. III, 15. Joakim is said to be the son of Josias, "and of Joakim was born Jechonias;" he will then read: "Josias begot Joakim and his brethren; and Joakim begat Jechonias about the time of the migration to Babylon." Yet no reliable manuscript supports such a correction. Therefore we consent to those, who say, the name of Joakim has been intentionally dropped, for what reason, we do not know; by the brethren of Jechonias we understand his cousins, the sons of Sedekias, the brother of Joachim. The next descendants of Jechonias bear the same name, as in the genealogy of St. Luke the descendants of Neri. This is with all probability explained, by saying that Jechonias died in prison without issue; hence Salathiel was the actual son or grand-son of Neri, but at the same time the legal son of Jechonias, according to the law of the leviration. A similar occurrence took place afterward again with Zorababel. Kenrick says, Zorababel was the son of Phadaia, brother (?) of Salathiel. 1, Paralip. III, 19. Probably his father married the relict of the uncle, dying without issue, and thus he was deemed in law, the son of Salathiel.

2.—THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

1. Though according to our opinion, it cannot be proved that, as some suppose, one of the two genealogies gives the descent of Mary from the tribe of Juda and the house of David, yet this, that she was from the said tribe and house, can be shown from other sources. Marriage was not to be sought out of the tribe,*) hence we are enabled to conclude with all certainty, that Mary belonged to the tribe of Juda. And then, Christ could not be said, as we read in the ep. to the Romans, ch. 1, 3, to be born of the seed of David, according to the flesh, if Mary, of whom He assumed the flesh, was not the decendant of David. Hence St. Augustine says, we believe also that Mary was of the house of David, because we believe the Scripture, stating both that Christ was from the seed of David, according to the flesh, and that the Virgin Mary was His mother. The Greek fathers seem to have given more credit to the traditions on the parents of Mary, than the Latin; St. Gregory of Nyssa,†) and Epiphanius‡) call them Joachim and Anna.— Mary had, according to John, (chap. 19, 25,) a sister of the same, or a similar name;§) yet whether this Mary was a sister in the strict sense, or a cousin, or perhaps some connection of affinity by marriage, whom the Hebrews also called sister, we shall see further on below.

2. It has been transmitted from ancient times, that the Virgin Mary was offered up to the Lord, in her infancy by her parents, in the temple of Jerusalem, where she then remained until the time of her nuptials; there are no historical documents extant, to prove this duly, yet it is a very acceptable opinion, according to those passages, where we read of women being in the temple. In Exod. chap. 35, v. 8, we read, that

*) Num. 36, 37, "And all women shall take husbands of their own tribe."

†) Orat. in nat. Christ.

‡) Haeres. 78.

§) Some say, the name of the Blessed Virgin is *Mariam*, (Mirjam in Syriac) and that of her sister "Maria."

women watched at the door of the tabernacle; Josaba, the daughter of King Joram, hid the child Joas, and his nurse for six years in the house of the Lord, from the face of Athalia, so that he was not slain, 4 King, ii, 2, 3. And who knows not what we read in St. Luke, chap. 2, v. 36. "And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser; she was far advanced in years, and had lived with her husband seven years from her virginity, and she was a widow until fourscore and four years, *who departed not from the temple*, by fasting and prayers, *worshiping night and day.*"*) Hence, nothing prevents us to admit the aforesaid tradition.

3. That Mary, though espoused to Joseph, was determined to preserve her virginity, is most obvious from the answer she gave to the heavenly messenger, saying: "How shall this be, since I know not man." St. Gregory of Nyssa,†) and St. Augustine‡) gather from these words, that she had made a vow to this end. Even H. Grotius acknowledges that in these words by Mary, some purpose of perpetual virginity was indicated; and Zeger, another protestant writer, remarks on the said passage: "Mary entertains no doubt regarding the effect, but inquires into the manner, in which this could be done, without injury to the vow of chastity, (salvo voto pudicitiae.) It was once called in question, whether Mary was really married to Joseph; some said, there existed but a promise of marriage between them.§) But according to Suarez, it would be now-a-days a rash, if not heretical opinion, to deny that Mary was

*) St. Ambrose in his 1st book de Virginibus says, that he has *read* virgins were appointed for the temple, yet he does not name the author. The Greek church had the festival of "Presentation of Mary from ancient times;" in the Latin church it was not introduced, according to Thomassin, before the year 1372, A. Ch.

†) S. Greg. Nyss. Orat. in nat. Christi.

‡) L. de Virg. c. 4.

§) S. Greg. Nyss. Conjunctio autem non ultra *sponsalia*, (promise of marriage) progrediebatur. *Or. in nat. D.*

truly the wife of Joseph,§) though, however, it was according to all a marriage of virginity. These espousals were necessary to shield her from censure, since the mystery of the incarnation could not be at once declared, and proved to the public generally.‖) And this matrimony in virginity, is not contradictory, as marriage in its essence does not exclude virginity. The common opinion holds, that she was married at the age of fourteen years. That Joseph, at that time, was of a very advanced age, or that he had been married before, is entirely rejected as a fable of the apocryphs by St. Jerom, who asserts in his book against Helvidius, that Joseph likewise remained perpetually a virgin.

4. The place where the Word was made flesh, is Nazareth, a city or rather a small village in Galilee, according to St. Luke, 1, v. 25. The Virgin conferred in a double manner to the accomplishment of the great mystery of our redemption, the incarnation of the Word, (Logos) first, by the consent which she gave, saying: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word;" whence it is the common opinion, that in the moment when these words were pronounced, the conception of the Word has been effected in the virginal womb; secondly, she conferred to this great work of the divine power and wisdom, also, in a physical manner; for the substance of the human body of Christ, was not only conceived in her and by her, but also from her; for she gave to the formation of this body the same that other mothers give in the conception of their offspring; yet as this human body of Christ, together with His human soul, had no subsistence for itself, but subsisted in the divine person of the Word, the Virgin is not only the mother of Christ, but properly and truly the mother of God;*) the human nature of Christ, considered sep-

§) Benedict. XIV, de festis B. M. V.

‖) Kenrick. St. Matth. p. 35.

*) "Matrem quoque Dei proprie dici apparet, quod divina persona terminus est completus conceptionis." Benedict. XIV. de festis B. M. V. p. 266.

arate from the divine person, possesses no physical reality, but is a mere abstraction of our intellect. The title of mother of God can, therefore, not be denied to the Virgin, without destroying or denying the mystery of the Incarnation.—It is an ancient tradition, that the Word was made flesh on the 25th of March, the same day on which, according to the same tradition, Christ died on the cross.†)

5. St. Luke relates ch. i, v. 39, that "Mary rising up in those days, went with haste into the hilly country, to a city of Juda; and she entered into the house of Zachary, and saluted Elizabeth." The city, where Zachary resided, was a sacerdotal city of Juda, and because of the sacerdotal cities of Juda especially Hebron was situated in the mountains, it is commonly believed that this city was the place whither Mary went with haste.†) Elizabeth is called by the angel the cousin*) of Mary; hence that they were related, is certain; but by what connection, and in what degree, is not known.

6. The traditions concerning the place and time of the death of the Virgin vary a good deal. Cardinal Bona considers it more probable that she lived sixty-three years on earth; others extend her life to seventy-two years. In regard to the place the authors are divided between Jerusalem and Ephesus. Avoiding a controversy which leads to no result, we say with Benedict. XIV, who examined all the different opinions, only so

†)Sicut a majoribus susc ipiens Ecclesiae custodit auctoritas, octavo Kalendas Aprilis conceptus creditur Christus, quo et passus. St. August. lib. 4. de Trinit, cap. 5.

†) Baronius at least is of this opinion; others say, that nothing is known about it. Patritius denies that it was Hebron, and maintains, that it was the city of *Jutha*, one of the less known cities of Juda, cf. c. Josua 15, 55. According to this opinion the spelling of the present text would be not correct. Patrit. I, p. 107.

*) In the Greek συγγένης, i. e, cognata, or affinis.— Elizabeth was on the father's side of the daughters of Aaron (v. 5.) yet on the mother's side she might be of the house of David. For those two familes often intermarried, as an earnest of the uniting of the royalty and the priesthood in the Saviour. "Patrit. III, p. 19, referring to Epiphan. Haer. 78, al. 58.

much is certain, 1) that the Virgin really underwent the physical death, that is, the separation of her soul from the body; 2) that, however, this separation was not permanent, but that soon after the death her body was reunited with her soul, and abides now in a glorified state in heaven; for though on the assumption of the body of Mary nothing is found in the fathers of the first centuries, except perhaps the expression "assumption" wherefrom, however, nothing definite can be derived, yet this opinion, became the unanimous belief, more from interior than exterior reasons, of the authors of later times, of Gregory of Tours, of St. Ildephons, of Peter Damiani, of St. Thomas and in general of all scholastic doctors; among the Greeks, St. Germanus of Constantinople and St. Joannes Damascenus are especially to be mentioned. Adding to these authorities the testimony of liturgical books, as the Sacramentarium Gelasianum,*) the ancient Gothic and Gallican Missals, Suarez draws the conclusion, that, though the assumption of the mother of God with her body is no defined article of faith, yet one, who would impugn this opinion, must be considered to be of great temerity. And certainly, if we believe, that the body of Christ is taken from the substance of the body of the Virgin, and that the same body of Christ is the source of life for mankind in the most blessed Sacrament, it is revolting to think, that the body, from which the bread of life has its origin, should possibly become the prey of corruption. Let the heretics scoff as they please at this belief; it cannot be denied, that consistency sides with us.

*) St. Gregory M. gives in the Sacramentarium of the Gelasian codex this oratio for the festival of the assumption: "Veneranda nobis, Domine, hujus diei festivitas opem conferat salutarem, in qua Sancta Dei Genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen *mortis nexibus* deprimi potuit, quae Filium Tuum de se genuit incarnatum. Bened. XIV. l, c. p, 294.

3.—THE SO-CALLED BRETHREN (BROTHERS) OF THE LORD.

1. We find frequently mentioned in the gospels the "brethren of the Lord." When Christ, after the wedding in Cana, went down to Capharnaum, besides His mother and His disciples, also His brethren went down with Him; and again, when He was speaking to the multitude (Matth. 12, 46. Mark 3. 31, Luke 8, 19,) one said to him: Behold Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without seeking Thee. When He came, perhaps the last time, to Nazareth, and taught in the Synagogue, they wondered and said: "Whence has this man His wisdom and miracles? Is not this the son of the carpenter? Is not His mother called Mary, and his brethren James and Joseph (Joses) and Simon and Jude? and His sisters are they not all with us? (Matth. 13, 54—56, Mark. VI., 3.) When the feast of the tabernacles was at hand, (in the year 781, U. C.) His brethren said to him: "Pass from hence and go into Judea, that Thy disciples also may see Thy works which Thou doest;" for neither did His brethren believe in Him, (John 7, 3. 5,). They are mentioned again in the Acts 1. 14, and also St. Paul speaks of them (1 Cor. 9, 6,); in the ep. to the Galatians (ch. 1, v. 19) he calls James the brother of the Lord.—St. Augustine asks: "Whence had our Lord brethren? Did Mary bring forth other children?" Far away this thought; for with her the dignity of virgins took its rise.....Read the Scripture, and you will find that the uncle and sister's son are called brothers; and having this usage present to mind, you will perceive that all the relations of Mary are styled brothers of Christ·····When you hear of the brethren of the Lord, think of the kindred of Mary, not of any children of hers, for as in the tomb, where the body of the Lord was placed, no one was laid before or afterwards, so the womb of Mary neither before nor afterwards conceived anything mortal."*) This is, no doubt,

*) Kenrick to St. John, ch. 2, and ch. 7.

the true sense of the word, "brethren" in the quoted passages. This is the belief of the Catholic Church on this question. Yet as the protestants have a peculiar propensity, to degrade virginity and consequently also the Virgin of Virgins, we must show more positively, that the Scripture only in this sense speaks of the brethren of the Lord.

2. There can be no doubt, that according to the Hebrew and the Hellenistic idiom and use of language the same words which they used to signify brother and sister in the strict sense, were also used to designate near relations;*) we refer to the first book of Moses ch. 13, v. 8, 14, 16, ch. 24, 59, 60. If you compare the Greek version of the Septuagint on these passages, you will find that the same word, used in the above given quotations of the brethren of the Lord, is continually used for denoting near relations. Hence any unpredjudiced mind must admit that from the word "brethren" brothers in the strict sense cannot be inferred, as this term is also used promiscuously in a wider sense. Still as the word "brethren" itself, having a double sense, does not decide anything, the question is now, is there no other way to show in which sense this term must be understood exactly in the passages that speak of the "brethren of the Lord?" Do we not know anything more definite of these "brethren of the Lord," who they were? This we have now to investigate.

3. Among the three Marys who stood under the cross†) on

*) Wahl. in his "Clavis N. T. philologica says sub voce" *ἀδελφός* "Videntur tamen ad quamcunque necessitudinem vocabulum" *ἀδελφός* transferentes Scriptores sacri secuti esse Hebraeorum dicendi rationem in adhibendo vocabulo אָח (ach) minus accuratorum ; est igitur—*ἀδελφός*, in N. T. saepius "*consanguineus, consobrinus, cognatus,*" Matth. 12, 46 ; 13, 55 ; Ioan. 7, 3, Act. 1, 14, Galat, 1, 19.)Schirlitz in his "Woerterbuch zum N. T. says sub voce "*ἀδελφός.*" that in the passages that speak of the brethren of the Lord, it must be understood of relationship. S. v. Ἰάκωβος he admits, that James the minor was the son of Alpheus and Mary, and at the same time a brother of Joses who is called a brother of the Lord."

†) Matth. 27, 56. Mark. 15 40. Joann. 19, 25. St. Mark calls expressly Mary the *mother* of James *the less* and of Joses.

Calvary, one is distinguished from the two others, from Mary the Mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalen, by being called "Mary of James and of Joseph (Joses).*) Comparing these passages with Matth. ch. 13, v. 55. and Mark ch. 6, v. 13, we will approach one step nearer to the desired result; in both of these passages the names of the "brethren of the Lord" are given, namely "James and Joses and Simon and Jude;"†) may not these "James and Joses" be identical with "James and Joses," the sons of Mary, distinguished from the other Marys by being called "Mary of James and Joses?" Let us go one step further. Mary the mother of James and Joses, is said to be the *sister*‡) of the mother of Jesus; hence James and Joses, the sons of Mary of James, could be properly called the "brethren of Jesus" according to the stated use of the term "brethren" in the Hebrew language. Again: "James the apostle is called the brother of the Lord (Galat. i, 19,); is this James the apostle identical with James, the son of Mary of James? In the four catalogues of the apostles, the same apostle is called James (the son) of Alpheus (Jacobus Alphaei). St. John, in the passage quoted, gives a similar epithet to Mary of James; he calls her§) *Mary of Clopas.* Now it is agreed on by all parties‖) that *Alpheus* and *Clopas* are one and the same name in the Hebrew language, the difference of them only consisting in a different punctuation and pronunciation¶)

*) Mark. 16, 1. The same Mary is shorter called "Mary of James," Luc. 24. 10, and "Mary of Joses" Mark, 15. 47.

†) It deserves to be noticed that James and Joses are in both passages placed first what may have some connection with Mary's being distinguished by them rather, than by Jude and Simon.

‡) Joann. 19. 25 compared with Matth. 27. 56. Mark. 15, 40. and Luke, 24, 10.

§) *Μαρία ἡ τοῦ* Κλωπᾶ. Joann. 19, 25.

‖) Lighfoot, Gesenius, Wahl, Patritius, Haneberg, Schirltiz, Reithmeier, A. Maier, etc.

‡) The radical letters (or consonants) of the name are חלפי. i. e. CHLPI; adding to the consonants the vowels by punctuation, we may either get *Chlope* by punctuating חלפי, or *Chalphei* by punctuating חַלְפַי. The first

of the same word according to the rules and the genius of the Hebrew language. Hence we know that James the apostle who is the brother of the Lord, is the son of *Clopas*, and consequently stands in a near relation to Mary of James, also called Mary of *Clopas* and the sister of the mother of Jesus. And what is this relationship exactly between them? Mary of Clopas is the mother of a son who is called James; the apostle James is the son of Clopas (Alphaeus); who will deny that the son of Clopas and the son of Mary of Clopas are one and the same person, Mary being the wife of Clopas and consequently the mother of James, the son of Clopas? But James, the apostle the son of Clopas is emphatically called the "brother of the Lord;" hence we know, who is *James* the first among the brethren of the Lord, mentioned in the gospels; it is James, the apostle, who is the son of Clopas, and Mary of Clopas, the sister of the mother of Jesus; but by this we know also the *second* of the brethren of the Lord, named Joses; for Mary of Clopas is the mother of a second son, named Joses, who with the same right, as James, the apostle, is called a brother of the Lord; who will not see the identity between the two first of the brethren of the Lord and the two sons of Mary of Clopas? The brethren of the Lord are James and Joses; and the two sons of Mary of Clopas, James and Joses are (called) the brethren of the Lord.

4. St. Mark calls the third of the brethren of the Lord by the name of Jude; do we know any thing more of this Jude? The author of the epistle of St. Jude, among our canonical books, styles himself a "servant of Jesus Christ, and *brother of James*." Who is this James, whose brother is Jude, the author of the epistle, who no doubt is identical with Jude Thaddeus,

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letter Ch (ח) may be transformed by a softer pronunciation into He ה, or Aleph (א), the difference between them being not greater, than in Greek between spiritus asper and spiritus lenis, or in the modern languages between h asperated and h mute. f. ex. hand, heir.

the apostle?*) In two of the catalogues of the apostles, (Matt. 10, v. 3, and Mark 3, 15,) Thaddeus is paired without any other epithet, with James of Alpheus; in the two other catalogues, (St. Luke, 6, 16, and acts 1, 13,) Jude is not paired with James of Alpheus, but instead of it he is surnamed (the brother) of James. Now it appears at least, very likely, that James whose brother Jude is called by St. Luke, is no other James but James of Alpheus, with whom he is paired by St. Matth. and St. Mark. This is more confirmed, if we consider attentively the manner in which St. Jude calls himself the brother of James in the beginning of his epistle; for it cannot be denied, that he calls himself by this epithet, with some emphasis,† to characterize, and distinguish himself in a particular manner to those to whom he writes, closely connecting it with his apostolic title, "a servant of Jesus Christ." From this we necessarily infer that *the* James whose brother Jude calls himself, must be a person of great authority, and notoriety. But we know but one James, possessing such a high standing, namely, James the apostle, the son of Alpheus, the brother of the Lord, who is called by St. Paul one of the pillars of the church. But if Jude is undoubtedly the brother of James of Alpheus, he is, like James himself, also, another brother of the Lord, which is confirmed by St. Mark and St. Matthew, who state that one of the brethren of the Lord is called "*Jude.*"

5. Having identified three of the brethren of the Lord to be the sons of Clopas and Mary, the sister of the mother of Jesus, we might conclude, by way of induction, that the fourth of them, Simon, will be in the same predicament; yet we have for this fact, more positive arguments, though not, as in the

*) That Jude, the *brother of James*, is one of the apostles, follows evidently from Luke 6, 16, and acts 1, 13, where to distinguish this apostle, from Judas Iscariote, he is surnamed Judas Jacobi, that is, Jude the brother of James.

†) The Greek text could be translated: "Jude a servant of Christ, but also (δέ) James, brother.

foregoing discussion, from Scripture alone, but from tradition; for this Simon is nowhere else mentioned in the Scripture, except in the two passages where he is named among the brethren of the Lord. Some authors, we know, mistook this Simon to be identical with the apostle Simon, the Zealot, also surnamed the Chananean;*) but this caused only confusion; tradition is decidedly against it. This Simon is a different person, and no apostle. Hegesippus, the first church-historian, who wrote about 150, A. Ch., the history of the church of Jerusalem in five books, relates that all unanimously have considered Simon, the son of Clopas, of whom, also, the gospel makes mention, to be worthy of the see of that community, (paroecia,) namely of Jerusalem, *being, as they say, a cousin of the Saviour.*†) Again: "And after James, the Just, had suffered, like the Lord, in the same cause, *again* the son of His uncle, namely Simeon, the son of Clopas, was appointed bishop, to whom all gave the preference, *being another cousin of the Lord.*‡) In another passage, Hegesippus repeats the same relationship of Simeon; speaking of his martyrdom, he says: "Under the Cesar Trajan, *the son of an uncle of the Lord*, the aforesaid Simeon, *son of Clopas*, having been denounced by the sects, was accused likewise, for the same cause before Atticus, once consul. And having been tortured many days, he gave testimony, (for his faith,) so that all, and also the judge, wondered exceedingly, how he, being 120 years old, could endure it; and then he was ordered to be crucified."§) These quota-

*) Matth. 10, 4. The Protestant versions gives Canaanite, which corresponds with the Vulgate. Some read Cananite, as if born in Cana of Galilee. Kenrick.

†) Euseb. H. eccl. II, ii. . . . Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. . . . . ἀνεψιὸν,ὡς γέ φασιν, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος.

‡) Euseb. IV. 22. . . . πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνέψιον τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. The two words: πάλιν and δεύτερον determine the sense, and show that also James was a son of Clopas, and a cousin of the Lord.

§) Euseb. H. eccl. III, 32, ... ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ κυρίου ὁ προειρημένος Συμεών υἱος Κλωπᾶ.

tions are plain; we have then a Simeon, who is *a cousin* of the Lord; his father was Clopas, and is called an *uncle* of the Lord. Simeon was elected after James' death, to be bishop of Jerusalem, because he was *another* cousin of the Lord, hence James, his predecessor, was likewise a cousin of the Lord, and consequently a son of Clopas or Alpheus. The result, derived from our combination of the passages of Scripture, referring to this question, is most surprisingly corroborated by the testimony of the most ancient and reliable tradition; before so much light, the last shadow of doubt must vanish. It may be, perhaps, objected, that the testimony of Hegesippus, is contradicted by other testimonies of antiquity; we answer, such contradictory testimonies are of a later date, and mostly derived from spurious sources. One point, however, is unanimously maintained amidst all variations of the different traditions, namely that the so-called "brethren of the Lord," were no uterine brothers, or in other words, that the mother of Jesus did not give birth to any other offspring; only some of the Gnostic sects, as the Ebionites, entertained contrary opinions, in consequence of their other errors, denying the mystery of the incarnation.*) But, in order to solve the question, how James and his brothers could be called brethren of the Lord, some of the later fathers seem to have given too much weight to fabulous traditions, circulated by apocryphal books, especially the so-called gospels of Peter and of James, which relate that Joseph, before he married the Virgin, had been married to another wife, of whom he begot four sons, namely, James and his brothers, and two daughters; hence they would have been step-brothers and sisters of the Lord, in the same sense as Joseph could be called the father of Jesus;†) but St. Jerom stigmatized this tradition as a "deliramentum" of the apocryphs. Not much better is

*) Origen in Luc. hom. 7. tom. V. p 107, ed. Lomm.

†) This spurious tradition is probably the cause, that some ancient authors denied the identity of James, the brother of the Lord, and James the son of Mary of Clopas, what disturbed more yet the original tradition.

that which Theophylaet proposes, that they were the sons of Joseph, by a matrimony of leviration with Mary, the widow of Clopas, the brother of Joseph. Preferable to this, would be another supposition, that after the early death of Clopas, his children were adopted by Joseph, and formed under him one family, with the Lord and His blessed mother. But all such opinions are not less gratuitous than superfluous, since we know from Scripture and tradition, that the children of Mary of Clopas, being the sister of the Virgin, could be called, and were really called the "brethren of the Lord."

6. But one point of the question we passed by in our foregoing remarks, without entering on it. We know from St. John, ch. 29, 25, that Mary of Clopas, is a sister of the Virgin; yet was she a sister in the strict sense? Some authors answer in the positive, and derive from this the near relation between her children and the Lord, being cousins of Him by her. Yet it is strange that two sisters bear the same name,* and moreover it is somewhat against the feeling of a Catholic to speak of a real sister of the Mother of God. By a tradition founded on the testimony of Hegesippus, this difficulty also may be removed; for he states not only that Clopas was the uncle of the Lord, but also, that Clopas was a brother of Joseph,†) the foster-father of the Lord. Hence the sons of Clopas were cousins of the Lord by Joseph, His reputed father being the brother of Clopas. It is therefore not necessary to admit that Mary of Clopas is a real sister of the Virgin;‡) James and his brothers were at least reputed cousins of the Lord without

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*) Only Luke makes some distinction, calling the Virgin Mariam, and James' mother Maria.

†) Euseb. l. c. "*τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὑπαρχειν, Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ.*

‡) Patritius l. c. maintains that Clopas was not the husband, but the father of Mary of Clopas; Moreover, that the father of the Virgin was a brother of Clopas and Joseph. Hence Mary of Clopas and the Virgin would be cousins, and James, the apostle, not the son of Alpheus or Clopas, but the grandson from his mother's side.

such a near relation of consanguinity with the Virgin, and Mary of Clopas could be called her sister by connection of marriage or affinity, as the word "sister" is also used in such a wider sense.*)

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4. THE NATIVITY OF CHRIST.

1. We know from St. Matthew and St. Luke, that Christ was born in Bethlehem before the death of Herod, i. e. before the year 750, U. C. The great event on which depends the salvation of the world, is couched by the Evangelist in the simple words: "*And she brought forth her first born Son, and wrapped Him up in swaddling clothes, and laid Him in the manger, because there was no room for them in the inn.*" The fathers observe, concerning the manner in which Christ was born, that Mary, as in the conception, so also in the birth of Him and after the birth, remained an inviolate Virgin. St. Leo gives this tradition as follows: "It is without human use and experience, what we believe: but it is founded on the divine power, that a Virgin conceived, a Virgin brought forth, and a Virgin remained."†) Against this tradition cannot be construed what we read Matth. ch. 1, v. 25, "And he [Joseph] knew her not, *till* she brought forth her *first born* son;" for the words "*till* she brought forth," etc., is a scriptural form of speech, as Campbell acknowledges, which does not necessarily imply that Joseph knew her afterwards.‡] Thus we read in Psalm, 109: "The Lord said to my Lord: sit Thou on my

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*) Wahl. sub voce "ἀδελφή.

†) Humano usu et consuetudine quod credimus, caret; sed divina potestate subnixum est, quod Virgo conceperit, Virgo pepererit, Virgo permanserit.

‡) Comp. 1 Mos. 8, 7. H. Grotius remarks: That this negation, referring to the time before the birth, does not affirm for the time afterwards, has been shown by others in many instances, to which I will add what we read Matth. 12, 20.

right hand, *until* I make Thy enemies the footstool of Thy feet." Will he not sit afterwards?— The expression "first-born" does not imply that others were born afterwards. The law prescribed offerings to be made for first-born males forty days after their birth, when it could not be known whether other children would be born to the same parents.*)

2. St. Luke indicates that the place where Christ was born, was a stable; from tradition it is sufficiently proved that this place was outside of Bethlehem, as Justin M. assures us, saying: "Since Joseph had in that village (of Bethlehem) no place where to stay, he put up in a grotto or a cave near to the village;†) and when he was there, Mary brought forth Christ, and placed Him in the manger." Origen writes: "Any one who might doubt that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, may know that in Bethlehem the cave is shown wherein He was born, and in the cave the manger in which he was placed, wrapped up in swaddling clothes. And this, he continues, is in those places well known also to those who are strangers to the faith, that in the said cave, Jesus, whom the Christians adore, was born."‡) Petavius observes that as the country of Bethlehem is very rocky, it is quite credible that the stable indicated by St. Luke, was a cave into the rocks."§)

3. St. Matthew gives us an ample description of the coming of the Magi and their adoration, (ch. 2, v. 1-13.) How many there were, he says not. Natalis Alexander having examined all the different opinions and traditions, comes to the conclusion that it may be called the common belief that there were three Magi, confirmed especially by St. Leo, and by the author of some sermons ascribed to Eusebius Emissenus.

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*) Kenrick to this passage. St. Jerome says: Primogenitum non eum vocant scripturae, quem fratres sequantur sed qui *primus* natus sit. Comp. 1 Paral. 9, 5-23, 16, 17.

†) Justin. M. Tryph. p. 303.

†) Orig. cont. Celsum. I. 31.

†) Patrit l. c. defends the spot, which is venerated down to the present day, to be really the identical place where Christ was born

Tillmont, however, suspects that this opinion is without any foundation in tradition, and was merely derived from the three gifts that they offered to Christ. Much less we know anything certain about their names. The question from which country they came is also controverted. Good authorities, such as Clement of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom, Cyrillus of Alexandria, Theodoret, maintain that they were Persians and came from Persia. In favor of this opinion is their name "Magi," since the Persian priests who worshipped the fire and the stars were thus called. Still to the contrary may be said, 1) that the name "Magi" at the time of Christ was used frequently in a wider sense, denoting any learned or wise man, especially such as professed the science of the stars, (astrology;) 2) with Persia the gospel does not well agree, which says: "we have seen the star in the *east*," as Persia lies rather north from Palestine, 3) that Persia is rather too distant. Hence some of the fathers, as Origen, Basil, etc, defend the opinion that they came from Mesopotamia, principally by this reason that the prophecy of Bileam, concerning the star rising from the house of Jacob, was in some connection with the star of the "Magi;" now Bileam being of Mesopotamia, it seems very probable that the remembrance of this prophecy was preserved in said country, and made it possible that the "Magi," observing an extraordinary star, concluded from it the birth of the promised king from the house of Jacob. But to this conjecture we answer, that the said prophecy of Bileam was uttered in Arabia, or among the Moabites, not in Mesopotamia, and consequently, if it was really in some connection with the star of the "Magi," it would rather point us to Arabia; and in fact, for the last mentioned country the best authorities and strongest reasons seem to stand.

St. Justin M,*) in several passages and besides him, the ancient Tertullian†) declare Arabia to be the home of the Magi.

*) Justin. dial. cum Tryph. 78, 106.

†) Tertull. adv. Iud, c. 9. adv. Marcion, lib. 3. c. 13.

In the Scripture Arabia is commonly understood by the east; the gifts, offered by the "Magi" also accord with that country, which was considered to be rich in gold, frankincense and balsam or myrrh. Moreover according to this opinion the tradition of the Magi being kings, could be easily maintained, since at that time there were many tribes in Arabia that had their own dynasts or little kings.

3.) Concerning the star of the Magi, we learn from the sacred text, 1) that they had seen it in the east; 2) that they had derived from it the knowledge that the King of the Jews was born; 3) that this star which was invisible to them at Jerusalem, appeared again to them on their way to Bethlehem, and went before*) them until it came and stood over the place where the child was. Of this star we have a very ancient tradition which seems to be independent of the relation of St. Matthew; St. Ignatius M. says in his epistle to the Ephesians ch. 19; "And it was unknown to the prince of this world the virginity of Mary, and likewise her childbirth (partus) and the death of the Lord, three mysteries of importance (clamor)†) which have been accomplished in the silence of God. In what manner then was Christ manifested to the world? A star was shining in heaven over all the stars and its light was unspeakable, and its newness caused astonishment. The other stars, together with the sun and moon, formed a chorus around this star; itself threw its light over all." According to this tradition the star of the Magi seems not to have been a natural star, but an extraordinary meteor. There are however principally three

‡) Patritius questions the correctness of the translation of the Vulgate "antecedebat," in the sense, that the star went before them and led them. Nunquam auctores bibliorum verbum istud (Προῆγεν) in eum sensum acceperunt quo *praecedere* simul et *ducere* significat, quoque dux aciem, aries ovium gregem, ducere dicuntur...sensus itaque verbi Προῆγεν in hac narratione est stellam a Magi ante se visam, ut nautis astra, viam ipsis indicassee locumque quo Christum reperirent, P. III, p. 334.

§) Τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, clamoris,

different opinions concerning the nature of this star. Some say it was a star like others, created in the sky; others, it was an angel assuming the form of a star, in a similar manner as the angel of the Lord went before the Israelites in the appearance of the pillar of the cloud by day and the pillar of fire at night: others finally think, it was nothing else, but a fiery meteor within the atmosphere of our globe, formed by an angel in the form of a star. The modern writers add a fourth explanation; in order not to multiply miracles without necessity, they say, that it was a natural star or a natural constellation by the ordinary motion of the stars; the words of the text, speaking of its preceding the Magi on their way, must according to them not be urged too much.*) Some of them, therefore, endeavored to show, that it was a comet; Keppler, the great law-giver of the motions of the stars, thought, it was an extraordinary bright conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which took place in the year 747, U. C., in the sign of the pisces. This sign of the Zodiac was believed according to the ancient rules of astrology to represent in heaven Judea, whence the Magi, well versed in this science, could easily come to the conclusion, that the expected great King of the Jews was announced by this splendid phenomenon in the sky.

5.—THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT AND THE RETIRED LIFE AT NAZARETH.

1. The Magi did not return from Bethlehem to Herod, but went back another way into their own country. Then, accord- to St. Matthew, Joseph, warned by an angel in sleep, took the Child and His mother, and retired into Egypt, and he was there until the death of Herod. Against these statements, a great difficulty is raised from the 2nd chapter of St. Luke; for he

*) See above Patritius.

says that after the days of *His**) purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they (Mary and Joseph) carried Him to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord. The day appointed for the presentation, was the fortieth after the birth. And then St. Luke continues: "And after they had performed all things according to the laws of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their city Nazareth." According to the first gospel, the birth of Jesus, the coming of the Magi, their return, and the flight of Joseph with the Child and His mother seem to have taken place in an immediate succession, before Joseph had left Bethlehem; but how could St. Luke say without coming in contradiction with Matthew, that the Child was presented to the Lord in the temple on the fortieth day after His birth, and that Joseph returned after the presentation from Jerusalem to Nazareth? To evade this difficulty, some authors assert, that the coming of the Magi did not take place, as it is the common opinion, a few days after the birth of the Lord, but much later. Joseph, they say, had returned in the mean time to Nazareth, not to stay there permanently, but with the intention to arrange all his affairs in such a manner as to leave Nazareth entirely, and to take his future abode in Bethlehem. At the time, when the Magi came, perhaps a year after the birth of the Child, he had already returned to Bethlehem; the flight to Egypt followed then also about a year after the birth of Jesus. Yet this conjecture seems to be somewhat against the text of St. Matthew who connects the coming of the Magi most intimately with the nativity of the Lord, saying: "When therefore Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of king Herod, behold there came Magi from the east to Jerusalem.†) Moreover it is a very ancient

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*) Thus Kenrick; see his note to this passage.

†) Kenrick D. D. remarks on this passage: We know not what length of time elapsed after His birth before the arrival of the Magi; probably nearly forty days, since the presentation must have taken place soon afterwards.

and constant tradition that the Magi came thirteen days after the birth of the Lord*).

Schegg in his commentary to St. Luke offers, therefore, another combination of the stated Evangelical facts; he supposes that the whole that St. Matthew and St. Luke relate, took place in a very short time. The Magi came a few days after the birth of the Lord, and returned immediately; Herod, seeing himself deceived, did not delay the execution of his design, hence the flight to Egypt succeeded immediately the return of the Magi; but as the death of Herod occurred not long after, the holy family could have returned to Jerusalem perhaps two months after the birth of the Lord, the Child was then presented to the Lord in the temple at Jerusalem, and from thence brought to Nazareth according to the statement of St. Luke. But this combination is in direct contradiction with St. Matth. 2. 22, where we read that Joseph, hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea, in the room of Herod his father, was afraid to go *thither*, that is, to Judea. Hence we adopt with Kenrick,†) the solution of the difficulty, offered by St. Augustin; he places first the return of the Magi, then the presentation in the temple, after this immediately the apparition of the angel to Joseph and the flight to Egypt; and from thence the return to Nazareth. To the difficulty, how it can be accounted for, according to this combination, that Herod seeing himself deceived,

*) The patrons of the aforesaid opinion refer to Matth. 2, 16, where we read that "Herod ordered all children to be killed from two years and under," concluding from this that the Magi came a long while after the birth of Christ; but already St. Chrysostom defends the common opinion against this objection, saying that Herod did not limit himself to the space of time, at which the Magi had seen the star, but in order not to fail in his object, he extended his order much further; he also adds that the star had appeared to them before the birth of the Lord, so as to leave them time for their journey. Chrysost. Hom. 7, in Matth.

†) Kenrick on Luke, 2. 39. "They left Jerusalem on their way home to Nazareth, but Joseph being directed by the angel to flee beyond the power of Herod, fled to Egypt, and remained there till the death of the tyrant."

waited so long to take his cruel measures, the same father answers:*) Herod may have believed that the Magi, having been deceived by a delusive appearance of the star, and not finding the Child, were ashamed to return to him; therefore he laid aside all fear. But when the Child had been carried to the temple and all that occured at His presentation, according to St. Luke, had reached the ears of Herod, he was roused once more to fury; Joseph, perhaps, already on his way to Nazareth, was then warned to retire to Egypt, the more so, as the Child was neither safe in Nazareth, this place belonging to the territory of which Herod was king. Tillmont remarks, no better answer than this, can be given;†) and though he feels himself not perfectly satisfied by it, Benedict XIV, in his work de festis‡) Domini considers it more wise to acquiesce in the judgment of so great a doctor of the Church.

2. Against the massacre of the Innocents by Herod, it has been objected that Josephus Flavius, although he treats on the life of this tyrant at large, does not mention it. Calmet thinks that perhaps Nicolaus of Damascus, whom Josephus Fl. principally followed in his history, had omitted purposely this most atrocious deed of Herod, being himself in too near connection with the family of this tyrant. Hug, Wetstein, and Is. Vossius observe that after so many and enormous deeds of cruelty, perpetrated by Herod at Jerusalem and in all Judea, after having put to death so many of his own children, his own wives and intimate friends and relations, it appears not to have been a deed so very atrocious for him, to have also put to death the

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*) St. August. de consensu Evang. lib. 2. cap, 2.

†) Patritius gives some more conjectures; but we think none more probable than that of St. Augustine.—We venture to suggest to the readers that St. Luke if he really had known the gospel of St. Matthew, when writing his gospel, would scarcely have passed over all these important facts in perfect silence and expressed himself thus as he did.

‡) Bened. XIV, de fest, D. N. I. Ch. n 72. "Nos vero illam responsionem utpote a maximi ingenii viro et Ecclesiae doctore omnium clarissimo ortam venerati, in ipsius Augustini judicio plane conquiescimus."

infants of one small village, as Bethlehem was, and its next environ, the number of whom could not be great, since not all children but only those of the age of two years, and of them, again only the male children, were killed. Schegg estimates the whole number of them not higher than from twelve to twenty. Moreover Celsus, against whom Origen defended Christianity, puts the event forward as an admitted fact.*) St. Justin M. mentions it in his dialogue with Tryphon, the Jew.†) Also what we read in Macrobius, a pagan author of the fourth century, is, though of a late date, of some weight; he relating the "facetiae" of the emperor Augustus, says: "When Augustus heard that among the children whom under two years age Herod had ordered to be killed, also his (Herod's) own son had been slain, he said, it is better to be Herod's pig than his son." The silence of Josephus and of Philo is, we deem, outweighed by these positive testimonies of antiquity.

3. The journey to Egypt was not very long; in a few days the holy family could reach Alexandria, where the Jews were very numerous at that time. Berseba on the southern borders of Judea, was not more distant from Jerusalem than Sichem in Samaria. During their abode in Egypt they resided according to tradition in Matarea, (now Matarieh) between Cairo and Heliopolis. How long they remained there, is not certain; the tradition wavers between two and eight years. After Herod's death they returned, and dwelt in a city called Nazareth. (Matth. 2. 23.) St. Luke mentions that Jesus being twelve years old, went up to Jerusalem, at the solemn day of the passover. From the passages where He is called by the Nazarenes the son of the carpenter, or even the carpenter (Matth. 13, 55, Mark. 6, 13) it has been, as we think, rightly concluded, that He, humbling Himself to the full excess of His love to man, followed in His youth the trade of His reputed father. In

*) Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 1. n, 58.

†) Justin M. Tryph. 78, 79.

Justin M. writings we find the ancient tradition, that "being among men He made ploughs and yokes, by these presenting symbols of justice and teaching a laborious life." He, the second Adam, submitted Himself to the sentence pronounced against the first Adam, and "ate his bread in the sweat of his brow."—Besides this we know nothing of His retired life at Nazareth. When He was about the age of thirty years, He came to the Jordan, to be baptized by John the Baptist, in the first days of the year 780, U. C.

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6. JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST, THE BEGINNING OF HIS PUBLIC LIFE.

1. The origin of John the Baptist, whom also Josephus Flavius mentions, calling him by the same name, is plainly described in the first chapter of St. Luke. In the last verse of this chapter we read: "And the Child grew and was strengthened in spirit and was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel." From this passage it is justly inferred that John retired to the deserts at a very early age. St. Matthew, ch. 3, v. 1, calls the desert, where John lived, the desert of Judea, that is, the mountainous, uncultivated tract of land, that extends from the right banks of the brook Cedron along the western coast of the Dead sea.*) Out of this desert he came in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar into the country about the Jordan, preaching the baptism of penance for the remission of sins. Some authors deduced from Matth. 3, 14, that he was well acquainted with Jesus of Nazareth; for there we read that, when Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan unto John to be baptized, John stayed him saying: "I ought

*) The now-a-days so-called "desert of John," one hour and one-half distant from Jerusalem, has no ancient testimony in its favor. "The convent of St. John, beautifully situated, claims to be the place where John was born." *Schegg.*

to be baptized by Thee, and comest Thou to me?" Contradictory to this seems to be what we read in the first chapter v. 33, of John, where the Baptist says of Jesus: "And I knew Him not; but He Who sent me to baptize with water, He said to me: "He upon Whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on Him, He it is that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." To reconcile these two passages some answer that John knew Jesus personally, His superior wisdom and sanctity, even that He was a prophet and highly honored of God, but he had not known that Jesus was the Messiah till the descent of the Holy Ghost at His baptism. All that is said in John 1, 33, consists in this: that the Baptist, until this evidence by the descending of the Holy Ghost was given to Him, did not know Jesus to be the Messiah, (Kuinoel, Bloomfield, Kenrick). According to A. Maier and others it could be even admitted that John from communications, received in his early life, knew Jesus to be the Messiah: but he knew it not with such a full evidence, as was required for him in order to give testimony of Him; this evidence he obtained by the fulfillment of the sign, given divinely to him, that is, by the descent of the Holy Ghost. The more ancient interpreters, as Calmet, Maldonat, etc., following St. Chrysostom, Euthymius, Theophylact, explain the difficulty in another way; they say, as we have said above, that John knew Jesus of Nazareth not *personally*, but he knew well that He was the expected Messiah. When Jesus came to be baptized, John knew first by internal inspiration, that He is the person to be manifested as the Messiah, as it had been divinely promised to him; therefore he said: "I ought to be baptized by Thee;" and then, what he had known already by internal testimony, was made manifest also externally by the descent of the Holy Ghost.§) *Schegg* in his commentary to St. Matth. p. 107,

§) Calmet: "Secreta mentis illustratio, qua Joannes excitatus est, minime prohibebat, ne prodigiis prolatis res certior efficeretur."

adopts again this ancient explanation, with some slight modifications.

5. The cause for which Jesus wanted to be baptized by John, He Himself expresses in the words (Matth. 3, 15): "Suffer it at present; for so it becomes us to fulfil all justice;" that is, according to the common interpretation: "It becomes thee to give the baptism into penance, because thou are sent for this purpose; it becomes Me to receive this baptism, because as I am sent to redeem sinners, I must be counted among them, and hence also receive this baptism of penance." Justice, says St. Chrysostom, "is the fulfilment of all the commandments." He had subjected Himself to the law of circumcision, and of presentation; now He submitted Himself, also, to the baptism for which John had been sent. To this the fathers add as another reason, that the water was to be sanctified by the contact of the most holy body of Jesus for the baptism of the gospel. Concerning the shape of the dove which the Holy Ghost assumed in His descent, some of the modern writers consider it unbecoming, that the Holy Ghost should appear under the visible form of a real, living dove; hence they explain that fire fell*) from heaven on Jesus, either with the velocity of a dove, or in the shape of a dove. Kenrick says: "Some explain it of His descent on our Lord in some sensible way, *as if* a dove descended, since her manner is peculiar." The fathers and ancient authors, however, felt no such delicacy, but understood almost unanimously, the words of the Scripture of an apparition of the Holy Ghost, under the true shape of a real dove.†) But in which way, this dove was formed, or in

*) It is an ancient tradition, already mentioned by St. Justin M., that fire ell from heaven, and that it thundered at the baptism of Christ.

†) St. August., ep. 120, ad Evad.: "Sola specie corporali oculis reddita, non natura viventis animalis expressa. But in another passage, in agone Christ., c. 22, the same father says: "Neque hoc ita dicimus, ut Dominum Jesum dicamus solum verum corpus habuisse, Spiritum autem sanctum fallaciter apparuisse oculis hominum, sed ambo illa corpora vera corpora credimus. Sed omnipotenti Deo qui universam creaturam de nihilo fabricavit,

what union or relation it was to the Holy Ghost, we know neither by Scripture, nor by tradition.

6. It will not be out of place to add here, some remarks on the character of St. John's baptism. St. Thomas, the angel of the schools teaches*) that John baptized principally for the end to accustom (assuefaceret) men by his baptism to the baptism of Christ, and to prepare them, also, internally, inducing them to penance. The external rite of John's baptism, was of divine ordinance or institution, as the Baptist says himself: "*He* who sent me to baptize with water," referring herein to God; yet concerning its effects, it had no internal efficacy; by itself it did not confer grace, but merely disposed to it, as an external rite, and symbol of purification and renovation. The council of Trent†) found it necessary to pronounce the anathema of the church against those who confounded this baptism with the baptism of Christ, defining: "If any one says that the baptism of John has had the same power, as the baptism of Christ, let him be anathema." Moreover, it must be remarked, that the rite of baptism was nothing new to the Jews, as the proselytes from the gentiles were always baptized, but not in all instances circumcised. With the baptism of John was connected a confession of sins, according to Matth. 3, 6, and Mark 1, 5: "And they were baptized by him in the Jordan, confessing their sins." The Greek terms used in the original, imply more than a general acknowledgment of their sins, as Grotius well observes, although not in minute detail. (Kenrick.) Such a confession of sins, was neither anything new to the Jews, as with some sacrifices of the Mosaic law, a confession of sin was connected.‡)

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non erat difficile, verum corpus columbae sine aliarum columbarum ministerio figurare, sicut ei non difficile erat verum corpus in utero Mariae sine virili semine fabricare. Eodem modo Tertull. de carne Christi. c. 3.

*) Summa Theol., 3 quaest. 38, a. 1, 2, 3.

†) Sess. 7, can. 1, de bapt.

‡) Lev. 4, 4. 15, 24. Num. 5, 7. Calmet refers to Maimonides ap. Light-

7. Immediately after the baptism, Christ went into the desert. St. Luke writes, chap. 4, v. 1: "And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from the Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the desert." St. Mark, using a very strong expression, says, chap. 1, v. 12: "And immediately the Spirit *drove* Him out into the desert." This desert was, according to tradition, the Quarantana, called in the Scripture, (Jos. 16, 1.) the desert of Jericho, between Jerusalem and Jericho.*) Yet Maldonat thinks, that, as the gospel makes no distinction between the desert where John lived, and that into which Jesus went, it was one and the same. The history of the temptation, as described by St. Matthew and St. Luke, and shortly mentioned by St. Mark, must be understood in the literal sense, all allegorical explanations, or as if it occurred not externally, but only internally in an ecstatical state (in spiritu) must be rejected, being a too great violence against the sacred text. That St. Luke places the third temptation in the place of the second, according to St. Matthew, and reversedly, cannot cause any difficulty. No doubt, it is terrible to think the prince of darkness in such a near contact with the incarnate God; yet, St. Gregory justly remarks, it is not to be wondered at, that Christ permitted Himself to be led about by the devil, since He permitted Himself to be crucified by the members of the devil."

7.—THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF CHRIST, 180, U. C.

1. Towards the end of the first days which Christ spent in the desert, an embassy was sent by the Jews, to John the Bap-

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foot, Buxtorff Synag., Jud., c. 20, saying: "The Hebrews maintain, that the confession is by all means necessary for the remission of a crime."

‡) Schubert in his description of a journey to Palestine, (III. 72,) remarks of this desert: "The country between Jerusalem and Jericho, is like a death-bed, on which the last spark of life wrestles with death, and is always at the very point of being extinct, without succeeding to be so."

tist, who had come up the Jordan to Bethania, in order to ask him, whether he be the promised and eagerly desired Messiah, which he denied most emphatically, adding, at the same time, the most affecting testimony for Him Who hath stood in the midst of them; One Whom they know not, Who shall come after him, Who was made before him, the latchet of Whose shoe he is not worthy to loose." John 1, 27. "The next day," that is, as it seems, the day after this embassy, when John saw Christ coming to him, likely from the desert, he saith: "Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him Who taketh away the sin of the world." Then, again, "the next day," John stood and two of his disciples, and beholding Jesus walking, he saith: "Behold the Lamb of God," whence the disciples followed Jesus, Who received them most graciously. One of these disciples was Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, the name of the other is passed over in silence, whence the interpreters infer that it was John, the author of the fourth gospel, who never names himself in his gospel. They staid with Him one day; on the evening Andrew sought his brother Simon, and brought him, perhaps, the next day, to Jesus. Again on the following, that is, the third day, since Andrew and John had followed Jesus, He intended to return to Galilee. It seems that on His way to Galilee, He found Philip, and by Philip, then Nathanael, (Bartholomew,) who likewise followed Him. These first five disciples, did not yet receive a higher vocation; they followed Jesus, and were in a similar relation to Him, as Andrew and John had been, before to John B. They went with Him to the wedding in Cana in Galilee, where their faith was increased by the first miracle of the Lord. After this, He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother, and His Brethren, and His disciples; they remained there not many days; as Bethsaida, the home of the disciples, was not far from Capernaum, they no doubt, went also thither. But the passover of the Jews being at hand, Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and the disciples followed him.

2. When he had come to Jerusalem, He expelled the first time the money-changers and sellers from the temple. This caused the first dispute with the Jews, recorded in the gospel. They manifested already on this first occasion a good deal of animosity against Him, yet many believed in His name at the passover, seeing the signs which He did. (John, 2, 23.) What signs these were, St. John does not detail, showing hereby distinctly what we said in another place, is a characteristic of him, that he mentions the events of the public life of Christ only shortly and sometimes in a summary manner, as it seems merely for the purpose of introduction, and to make more intelligible the discourses of the Lord on His higher, really divine dignity and nature, and His proofs for it. At the first passover however, Christ seems to have been somewhat reserved in this regard. He indeed pointed the attention of the Jews to His resurrection, saying: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up again;" but when the Jews did not understand the sense of these words, He gave no further explanation of them. This seems also to be the meaning of St. John when he adds: "But Jesus did not trust Himself to them, that is, even to those who believed in His name; for He knew all men;" He knew that they were not disposed for receiving the manifestation of the glory hidden in Him.

3. Among those who believed in the name of Jesus at this passover was also a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus; he is called a ruler of the Jews, that is either a president of a synagogue, or a member of the sanhedrim, a senator; also a master in Israel, and a scribe, presiding over a school. (Acts, 5, 34, cf., 22, 3.) He is mentioned again by John, chap. 7, 50, pleading for Jesus in the council, and chap. 19, 39, taking an affecting part in the burial of Christ. This man came to Jesus by night, probably to avoid observation, as he knew that the other members of the sanhedrim were opposed to Christ, as they were, at least secretly, to John B. His desire was to receive from Jesus a more definite declaration concerning His

mission. The answer of Christ is in perfect accordance to our foregoing remarks; for He enters not at once on this question, but shows first, that in order to know Him and to become a partaker of His kingdom, a proper disposition, therefore an internal change of man, a total regeneration is required, connecting with this a clear exposition of the higher character of His baptism. And when Nicodemus answered "how can these things be done?" Christ speaking in a more definite manner of His coming from heaven and His great mission, announces the judgment of the unbelieving world, and the secret cause of this unbelief; "for their works," he says, "were evil; for every one that doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, that his work may not be reproved." What Christ in this private conversion first spoke out, is more and more developed in the following discourses of the Lord, recorded by St. John. "After these things Jesus and His disciples came into the country of Judea, and there He abode with them," until the last month of the year 780 U. C., when John B. was imprisoned.

4. Returning through Samaria to Galilee, as we mentioned before, He came a second time to Cana, where he wrought another miracle, healing the son of the ruler.*) From St. Luke we infer, that Christ taught in all places whither He came, and did many signs, especially in Capernaum. "And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and fame concerning Him went out through the whole country, and He taught in their synagogues and was extolled by all." (Luke, chap. 4, 14, 15.) And He came to Nazareth where He was brought up. (Luke, chap. 4, 16.) If St. Luke observed the chronological order of the events in any degree, we cannot doubt, that Christ did not return to Nazareth when He had come back to Galilee the first time after His baptism, but *now*, after about one year's time. This is confirmed by v. 23, where Christ says to the Nazarenes, speaking in the Synagogue to

*) Patritius places this miracle to Capharnaum I, 395.

them: "Doubtless you will say to me this similitude; Physician, heal thyself; as great things as we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in Thy country," At His first return after His baptism He had done His first sign in Cana, then He went not for many days to Capernaum the first time. It is not said that He wrought any miracles there at that time, and even if that were granted, it is quite improbable that He returned then from Capernaum again to Nazareth, before He went up to Jerusalem for the passover. Yet there is a remark, given by St. John ch. 4, 43, 44, which caused some to believe, that the return of Jesus to Nazareth and the repulse He suffered from the Nazarenes on this occasion, must have taken place at His first return to Galilee, soon after the wedding at Cana. St. John, relating the second return through Samaria, concludes with these words: "Now after two days, He departed thence (that is from Sichem in Samaria) and went into Galilee. *For Jesus Himself gave testimony that a prophet hath no honor in his own country.*" In these words John seems to refer to a *passed* event in the life of Christ, to the repulse suffered at Nazareth, on which occasion Christ used the very same words, saying to the Nazarenes: "Verily I say unto you, that no prophet is accepted in his own country." Luke 4. 24. The sense of the passage John, 4. 43, 44, would then be: "He went to Galilee, not to Nazareth; for he *had given* testimony, that a prophet hath no honor, etc. Yet besides that this interpretation is contrary to the chronological order of St. Luke, St. John according to it would refer to an event, never mentioned in his gospel, as not even the name of Nazareth occurs in the whole gospel of St. John.‖) And moreover, to effect logically the connection of the two verses in this sense, the Greek "*ἐμαρτύρησε*" He gave testimony, would have to be taken in the sense of a plusperfect, which may sometimes occur, but only

‖) Except that Jesus is called the Nazarene in the inscription over the cross.

as an exception.*) Other writers,†) to make out a better sense, translated the conjunction "γάρ" "*for*" with "although," so that the sense would be: "He returned into Galilee, *though* He had testified etc,; understanding by "his own country" Galilee, not Nazareth. But they could not succeed in producing a passage in which γάρ is used in such a different sense. Therefore others say, the participle γάρ gives the reason, why He remained so long in Samaria and went slowly to Galilee;‡) but everybody perceives, that also this is a strained interpretation. Hence some say, St. John does not refer in these words to any preceding incident, but uses the sentence "a prophet has no honor in his own country," as a proverb, which Christ confirmed by word or action, when going from Samaria where He was retained by the fervent faith of the Samaritans, into Galilee, where He was not received but for the things which He had done in Jerusalem, that is, where He found not as much faith, though His own country, as in Samaria. By this interpretation we gain this much, that "ἐμαρτύρησε" need not be taken in the sense of a plusperfect; but the particle "γάρ" will not well agree with the whole. Hence we find ourselves compelled to come back to the interpretation of Origen. He also takes the words "a prophet has no honor, etc," as a proverb; but moreover he understands by "his own country," referred to in v. 44, not Galilee, but Judea, so that the sense would be: Christ went from Samaria to Galilee, not back again to Judea, His own country, for he gave testimony, a prophet, etc. Judea, Origen says, is the "country" of the prophets; there He was born; and we may add, there He was baptized, and had been preaching for about nine months. This interpretation is there-

*) However this interpretation we find in Cyrillus Alex. among the ancients, and has been suggested in our times by *Olshausen*.

†) Thus Alting, Schleussner, Kinnoel.

‡) Gfroerer, Meyer.

fore, adopted by Patritius,*) and we think, it is the most natural, removing at the same time the objection against the chronological order of St. Luke, since according to it no longer a reasonoble doubt is left that Christ suffered His repulse at Nazareth, on His second return to Galilee, about one year after His baptism.

From this, that Christ said to the Nazarenes: "Doubtless ye will say to me this similitude: Physician, heal Thyself; as great things as we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in Thy own country;" some authors have concluded, that He went from Cana first to Capernaum, where He wrought these great things, and then to Nazareth; but Patritius justly observes, that by these great things the healing of the son of the ruler properly can be understood, because though Christ was at Cana, the miracle itself was effected in Capernaum, where the son of the ruler was lying sick.

8.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OL CHRIST UNTIL EASTER 781, U. C.

1. Leaving the city of Nazareth, Jesus came and dwelt in Capernaum on the sea-coast, that is, of the sea Genesareth, on the borders of Zabulon and of Nephthalim. (Matth. 4, 13.) From that time He began to preach and to say: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." (Matth. 4, 17, Mark. 1, 14,) He taught them in the synagogue on the sabbath-days, and they were astonished at His doctrine, for His speech was with power. St. Luke, 4. 31—He cast out a devil in the synagogue, healed Simon's wife's mother, and many sick of divers diseases. The day after He went out into a desert place, and then He preached in the synagogues of Galilee. Returning again

*) Patrit. "Cave putes dicta esse verba, quae sunt in Joan. 4. 44, de Nazaretho aut de Galilaea sed de Judaea, II. p. 395.

to the Lake of Genesareth (Luke ch. 5,) He called after the miraculous draught of fishes, Peter and Andrew, who had in the meantime returned to their trade, and also James and John, to catch henceforth men, or to be fishers of men,*) who leaving all things followed Him. Then follows the cure of the leper and of the man who had the palsy, which caused a dispute with the Pharisees. Near Capernaum He calls the tax-gatherer, named Levi or Matthew, who immediately followed Him. Levi making a great feast in His house, invited the Lord with His disciples and a great company of tax-gatherers, whereby the Pharisees were much scandalized. (Luke 4, 31 ch. 6,).

2. Thus far we have followed without any difficulty the chronological order, observed in the gospel of St. Luke; but now we arrive at a passage, ch. 6, v. 1 11, which as we mentioned above, causes some embarrassment. The incidents which we read in these ten verses, took place undoubtedly after easter; for the words: "it came to pass on the second-first sabbath," and then that the Pharisees blamed the apostles, because going through the corn-field, they plucked the ears and ate, rubbing them through their hands," show evidently, as we said, that easter was already passed, and the harvest-time at hand.†) But if we go on reading to the 9th ch. v. 13 of St. Luke, we meet the miracle of the multiplication of bread. This miracle is beyond any doubt identical with the multiplication of bread, described in the sixth chapter of St. John who remarks expressly, that it occurred, easter being at hand. Hence, comparing Luke's gospel with St. Johns, there is none but this alternative left, either that St. Luke, describing in ch. 6, 1—11, an event that happened immediately after easter, comprises in his narrative from ch. 6, until ch. 9, v. 13, one full year of the

*) What we read Matth. 4, 17, and Mark 1. 11, seems to be identical with Luke ch. 5, 10. Matth. and Mark apparently omitted te circumstances of this vocation.

†) The harvest commenced according to the law on the second day of easter and ended with the first day of Pentecost.

public life of Christ, or that the first eleven verses of the sixth chapter are a deviation from the chronological order, and must be placed after the multiplication of bread, that is after ch. 9. v. 17. All those authors who extend the public life of Christ only to two years and some months, are, of course, in favor of the second part of the alternative, that is, of a deviation from the chronological order. But the question is, have they sufficient reasons for their opinion? If such a displacing of facts from the chronological order had to be supposed in the gospels of St. Matth. or St. Mark, it would be easily admitted, because it is the common opinion, that in those gospels, especially in the first, the chronological order is not observed; but the contrary is entertained of St. Luke's gospel; the strict chronological order seems to be its characteristic peculiarity. However we think, that this must not be urged too much. Certainly, St. Luke says in ch. 1, v. 3, that it seemed good to him.....to write *in order*; yet, on the other side, we know, that his gospel is also intended to give the oral preaching of St. Paul; by this the Evangelist was obliged to give all the principle facts, contained in the oral preaching of the apostle, even when the chronological connection of them could not always be exactly ascertained. Hence D. D. Kenrick justly observes to ch. 1, v. 3: This does not suppose a scrupulous regard to the order of time in recording each particular fact, but general attention to the series of events. Hence we see this much, that also in this gospel a transposition of facts cannot be absolutely denied. But the question is, whether any positive particular reason can be given for such a transposition just in this passage. Reithmeier says, it was done in favor of the *instructing* tendency of this gospel.*) In the foregoing 5th chapter we read the first time that the Pharisees placed themselves from the very beginning in a hostile position against Christ; this appears more yet in the two incidents contained in ch. 6, v. 11, so that we read in v. 11:

*) Reithmeier, p. 456.

They were filled with madness; and they talked one with the other, what they might do to Jesus." To show, therefore, the full iniquity of this hatred, the Evangelist connected these events immediately with the foregoing. Moreover Christ condemned, in the last verses of ch. 5, the narrow-minded views of the Pharisees, laying too much stress on external observations, and thus making men unfit for His words, which are spirit and life." To this the two incidents following in ch. 6, 1–11, are added, we may say, as illustrations. Besides this *internal* connection of ch. 5 and ch. 6, v. 1–11, some see an indication of the supposed intercalation in ch. 6, v. 12, where we read: "And it came to pass in those days, that, etc." This phrase, they say, indicates that the following is not in immediate chronological connection with the foregoing,*) referring to ch. 8, v. 1, and ch. 9, v. 18, only with this difference, that in these two last passages the omission of events, related by the other Evangelists, breaks the strict connection of time, whilst in ch. 6, the interposition of events causes a similar interruption. Considering all this, we hope the reader will admit that the first eleven verses of ch. 6, for the sake of the internal connection with the last part of the 5th, are displaced out of the order of time, and must be inserted after the 17th verse of ch. 9.

3. After this short interruption, the order of time is again observed in the gospel of St. Luke. Hence, soon after the feast, made to Christ by Levi, "He went out on to the mountain to pray, and He passed the whole night in the prayer of God. And when the day was come, He called His disciples, and from them, He chose twelve, whom also He named Apostles;" and He made a sermon to them, (chap. 6, 12—49,) which is identical with the so-called sermon on the mount, given more

*) Patritius, however, understands this phrase quite in the contrary sense translating the Greek *ἐν ταύταις ἡμέραις* by diebus ipsis, i. e. eisdem.—which certainly is not correct.

extensively by St. Matth. chap. 5, 6, 7. In this discourse, the sublime moral principles of the Kingdom of God are laid down. Afterwards He came to Capharnaum, where He healed the servant of the Centurion. The day after, according to the Greek text, He went from Capharnaum to Naim. This place is at a considerable distance from the first, in a straight direction, about thirty miles, and probably further by the circuits to be made, as between the two places the country is a very labyrinth of mounts, valleys and brooks.*) It was probably about this time when Christ, according to St. Matthew, (ch. 10, v. 1, and ch. 11, v. 1,) sent out the first time, His apostles, or some of them, to preach, addressing to them another discourse, and giving them power over unclean spirits, and to heal all manner of diseases.†) Coming to Naim He raised to life the son of a widow. About this time, whilst He went on towards Jerusalem, St. John, imprisoned in the castle of Machaerus, not far from the Dead sea, sent two of his disciples to Him, saying: "Art Thou He that cometh, or look we for another?" After this followed, probably, immediately the invitation by a Pharisee, called Simon, on which occasion Christ absolved the penitent woman. Where this event took place is not known; for though the penitent woman may be Mary, the sister of Lazarus, of whom we read John 12, 3, Matth. 26, 6, Mark 14, 3, that she anointed the feet of the Lord at a supper in the house of Simon the leper, yet it is without any probability that the event, of which St. Luke speaks, is identical with the other, a few days before the passion of the Lord; neither can it be shown in any satisfactory manner, that Simon the Pharisee and Simon the leper are one and the same person. However, if the penitent woman was the sister of Lazarus, we could

*) Schegg to St. Luke, p. 330.

†) St. Luke and St. Mark put the sending of the apostles shortly before the multiplication of bread. Probably they were not sent all at once, but successively at different times, of which Matth. mentions the first, St. Luke and Mark the second.

think of Bethania as the place also of this first anointment of the Lord. Certainly, this place would well agree with the connection of the facts in this period of the life of Christ; for it is the common opinion that here must be inserted the coming of the Lord to Jerusalem for a festival day of the Jews according to St. John, ch. 5. We said above, that this was the festival of Purim or Lots, celebrated towards the end of February, four weeks before easter. At this festival Christ healed on the sabbath the man languishing thirty-eight years. Therefore did the Jews persecute Him, because He did these things on the sabbath. But Jesus answered them: "My Father worketh until now, and I work." Hereupon, therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only broke the sabbath, but also called God His own Father, making Himself equal to God." Nevertheless Christ insists on this equality, saying: "For what things soever He (the Father) doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner;" and again; "For as the Father raiseth up the dead and giveth life, so the Son gives life to whom He will."

He refers them to the testimony of John B., but much more yet to the works which the Father hath given Him to perform, and to the Scriptures, for "if ye did believe Moses, ye would perhaps believe Me also; for he wrote of Me." We see from this that Christ comes back to the same subject, of which He spoke at His first being in Jerusalem, that is, of his divine dignity and nature, but this time much more openly and distinctly than at the foregoing easter. How long He remained in Jerusalem and Judea on this occasion, St. John does not say; we may, however, justly suppose that, as His hour was not come yet, and as the hatred of the Jews was exceedingly inflamed, He soon retired to Galilee again. The eighth chapter of Luke begins thus: "And it came to pass afterwards that He traveled through the cities and towns, preaching and announcing the Kingdom of God; and the twelve were with Him, and certain women who had been healed from evil spirits and

infirmities....." The phrase "And it came to pass afterwards," no doubt, indicates that between the foregoing part of the narrative and the following, exists no exact connexion of time; hence we insert here the coming of the Lord to Jerusalem, and consider chapter eight to be the chronological continuation of the foregoing narrative, after a short interruption. All which we read from ch. 8, v. 1, until ch. 9, v. 17, of St. Luke, occurred after the return from the festival of Purim until easter, in about three weeks. time. Hence we insert here, also, the parables of the seed, of the sower and the cockle.*) (Matth. 13. Mark 4.) Then He went over the sea Genesareth, on which occasion He stilled the tempest, and came into the country of the Gerasens, that is, in the country of the Decapolis, east of the lake, where he cast out the legion. He returned immediately again on the west side of the lake, probably to Capharnaum, where He raised to life the daughter of Jairus, and healed a woman of the issue of blood. Patritius inserts here also of Matth. ch. 9, v. 27, 34, where we read that Christ gave sight to two blind men, and healed a dumb man possessed by the devil. After this we read (Mark. 6, 1, Matth. 13, 54,) that Christ went once more, no doubt the last time, to Nazareth, where He was treated with contempt. Then follows the sending of the Apostles, or of some of them, probably the second time. John B. was put to death not long before this time; for when Herod, the tetrarch, heard of all things that were done by Jesus, he was at a loss, because it was said by some that John was risen from the dead, and by others, that Elias had appeared, and by others that one of the old prophets was risen again. "And Herod said: John I have beheaded; but who is this of whom I hear such things?" And he sought to see Him. When Jesus had heard this (Matth. 14,

*) St. Matth. and St. Mark add here also the two parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, but St. Luke places them between the festival of the tabernacle and the dedication.

v. 13,) and the apostles returned from their mission, He going up into a ship, passed with His disciples the sea of Genesareth, and went into a desert place, for two reasons, partly to avoid Herod, partly to give a little rest to the apostles; for, as St. Mark remarks, there were many coming and going; and they had not so much as time to eat. (Mark 6, 31.) But the multitude followed Him and His disciples also into the desert place, where He fed five thousands with five barley-loaves and two fishes. This great miracle is common to all the four Evangelists, and therefore a point of union between them. St. John alone marks the time, saying: "Now the passover, the festival day of the Jews, was at hand." The miracle made a great impression on the people, so that they would take Him by force and make Him king, whence He fled into the mountain Himself alone. His disciples went down to the sea, and they went in a ship over the sea to Capharnaum; but when they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs, they saw Jesus walking on the sea, and drawing nigh to the ship. The people followed Him the next day to Capharnaum, where He spoke to them on the bread of life. We may say, this sublime discourse, connected with the miracle, was probably the cause that St. John inserted the latter in His Gospel.

9.—FROM EASTER UNTIL THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, THAT IS, FROM THE END OF MARCH UNTIL OCTOBER OF THE YEAR 781, U. C.

1. After the discourse on the bread of life St. John immediately adds: "After these things Jesus went about in Galilee; for He would not go about in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill Him." In these words, no doubt, the reason is given, why Jesus went not up to Jerusalem for the passover. In the week after easter we have to place the two incidents, contained in the disputed verses of St. Luke ch. 6, 1—11. The Phari-

sees blamed the disciples, that, going through the corn-fields, they plucked the ears and ate, rubbing them through their hands on a sabbath day; and then again when Jesus cured a man whose right hand was withered, they were filled with madness. But here we lose our guide, St. Luke, for about four months. After ch. 9, v. 17, there is an unmistakable chasm in his narrative. Having related the multiplication of bread, he continues: "And it came to pass as He was praying in private, His disciples also were with Him; and He asked them saying: "Who do the people say that I am, etc;" after which follows then the transfiguration. This did not occur, according to the other two Evangelists and the tradition, before the month of August; hence St. Luke passed all the events, lying between, in silence.*) St. Matthew, (ch. 14, and St. Mark ch. 6, 56,) though they relate the walking of the Lord upon the sea after the multiplication of bread, do not mention His discourse on the bread of life, but they relate, that when He was gone out of the ship, immediately they knew Him; and running through that whole country, they began to carry about in beds those that were sick where they heard He was. And whithersoever He entered, into towns, or villages, or cities, they laid the sick in the streets and besought Him that they might touch but the tuft of His garment; and as many as touched Him were cured." From these summary remarks we see that also these two Evangelists pass over many events of this part of the life of Christ without mentioning them in detail; yet we learn from them at least some of these events, and moreover the whereabouts of the Lord during these months. The first that we read in the following chapter of the two Evangelists, is a sharp rebuke of the Pharisees and of some of the scribes who, coming from Jerusalem assembled unto Him, (St. Mark

*) What caused St. Luke to do so, we do not know; but we think, this is another sign that St. Luke did not know the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

ch. 7, v. 1,) because they, seeing His disciples eat bread with unwashed hands, they found fault. This seems to have happened at Capernaum, or certainly somewhere about the sea of Genesareth. But then, rising from thence, He went into the borders of Sidon and Tyre, where He healed the daughter of the Syria-phoenician woman. And again going out of the borders of Tyre, He came by Sidon to the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coast of Decapolis, (St. Mark, ch. 7, v. 31,) that is, going back from Sidon, He crossed the Jordan north of the sea of Genesareth, and then went on along the eastern shore of the lake through the Decapolis. There going up the mountain, says St. Matth., He sat there. And there came to Him great multitudes, having with them the dumb, and the blind, the lame, the crippled and many others; and they cast them down at His feet, and He healed them," so that the multitudes marvelled, seeing the dumb speak, the lame walk, the blind see, and they glorified the God of Israel." St. Mark describes to us one of these miraculous cures, namely of one dumb and deaf, whom He cured, putting His fingers into his ears, and touching his tongue, saying: "Ephpheta," which is, "Be thou opened."*) At the same place He fed again miraculously with seven loaves, a great multitude, numbering four thousand men, besides children and women. Having dismissed the multitude, He went up into a boat with His disciples, and came into the country of Dalmanutha, as St. Mark says, or into the coasts of Magedan (Magdala) according to St. Matthew. Calmet says, Dalmanutha was a city west of the sea of Tiberias, in the district of Magdala. Lightfoot thinks, Magdala was situated on the south-east side of the lake, near the hot baths of Tiberias, one mile distant from the banks of the Jordan. Gratz, however, places (with Calmet,) Magedan on the west side of the lake of Genesareth, not very far from Capernaum, perhaps where

*) As this miracle is scarcely identical with Matth. 9, 34, we have probably here an event, only mentioned by St. Mark.

now El Medschel is situated, between Capernaum and Tiberias. Here He met again the Pharisees, and as St. Matth. adds, with them also some of the Saducees, two opposite parties combining against the Divine Teacher. "They began to question Him, asking Him a sign from heaven, tempting Him." Having rebuked them, He went up again into the ship, and passed te tho other side of the water, that is, to the eastern or north-eastern shore. He came to Bethsaida, that is, Bethsaida Julias, on the north-eastern shore of the lake, where He gave sight to a blind man. This miracle is only related by St. Mark, ch. 8, v. 22. From thence Jesus went out and His disciples into the towns of Cesarea Philippi, in the northern extremity of Palestine, towards the sources of the Jordan.*) It was on the way thither, when He asked His disciples who do men say that I am; which occasioned Peters renowned profession of faith. Surprising, no doubt, is the remark, added by the three Evangelists immediately after this open profession by St. Peter, namely that the Lord charged them strictly, that they should not tell any man of Him. St. Luke who, as we said above, here takes up again his interrupted narrative, connects with the foregoing remark, the words of Jesus, saying: "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the ancients and chief-priests and scribes and be put to death, and the third day rise again" so that these words seem to contain the reason why He commanded them strictly to tell this, that Peter professed before all, to no man. The foretelling of His passion was so unexpected to the disciples and hard to hear that Peter, taking Him aside, began to rebuke Him, that is, to remonstrate with Him, doubtless affectionately and reverently; but He threatened Peter, saying: "Go after me Satan, because thou dost not relish the things that are of God, but that

*) It was called, "of Philip" from the tetrarch of this name, who embellished it, and dedicated it to Cesar Augustus. It was called Paneas in the time of St. Jerom.—*Kenrick.*

are of man." And calling the multitude together with His disciples, He said unto them: "If any man will follow after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." Here, we may say, the preaching of the *cross* takes its beginning; "Vexilla Regis prodeunt; Fulget crucis mysterium."

2. Six days according to St. Matthew and St. Mark,*) and about eight days according to St. Luke after these words, Jesus took with Him Peter, and James, and John and went up on the mountain to pray. And whilst He prayed, He was transfigured before them. His countenance was altered, and His raiment became white and glittering.

What mountain was this? Maldonat answers, neither the Evangelists say this, nor any sufficiently ancient and grave author; yet it was long ago the opinion that it was mount Tabor. But it is an undoubted historical fact, that the top of Tabor was fortified for military purposes from the time of Antiochus the Great (218 before Christ,) down to the time of Josephus, hence it was not a proper place for retirement and prayer, and much less for the transfiguration. Eusebius describes the mount Tabor, but says nothing of the transfiguration. Before the time of St. Jerom and Cyril such a tradition was not known. Therefore we have to think of another mountain, most probably of one of the heights of mount Hermon, near to Cesarea; the epithet "a *high* mountain" used by St. Matthew, agrees also better with Hermon, than with Tabor.†) And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till the son of man be risen from the dead. The next day, as they came down from the mountain, a great crowd met them. Among the crowd was a man whose only begotten son was seized by a ma-

*) They did not include the day on which the words were spoken and the day on which the transfiguration took place.

†) Schegg. Matth. p. 392. St. Peter calls the mount of the transfiguration the "Holy mountain" which can be said of Hermon as well as of Tabor. cf. Psalm. 88. 13.

lignant spirit; and Jesus rebuked the unclean spirit and cured the boy, and restored him to his father. But while all wondered at the things He did, He said, to His disciples: "Lay up in your hearts these words, for it shall come to pass that the son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men, (St. Luke, 9, 44,) and they will kill Him, and after He is killed, He will rise again the third day." (Mark 9. 30). This He said according to St. Mark, whilst He passed from Cesarea Philippi through Galilee. And they came to Capernaum. On the way thither a thought came to the disciples which of them was greater, wherefore Christ, when He was come to Capernaum, took a child and set him by Him, and said to them: He that is the lesser among you all, he is the greater. And John answering said: Master, we saw a certain man casting out devils in Thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said: Forbid not, for he that is not against you, is for you. (St. Luke, ch. 9. v. 49, 50.). Patritius inserts here also the words of Christ on scandal, on the joy in heaven on the conversion of the sinner, on the obstinate sinner to be denounced to the church, on the efficacy of prayer in common, and the parable of the indebted servant (Mark ch. 9, Matth. ch. 18). Now Jesus set out on His journey to Jerusalem for the festival of tabernacles. St. Luke ch. 9, v. 51, says: "And it came to pass, when the days of His being taken up were completed, that He set His face steadfastly to go to Jerusalem." In ch. 7, v. 2, of St. John we read: "Now the Jewish feast of tabernacles was at hand;" and in v. 10: "But after His brethren had gone up, then He also went up to the festival, not openly, but as in secret. And He sent messengers before His face; and going they entered into a city of the Samaritans, to prepare for Him; and they received Him not, because His face was of one going to Jerusalem. And they went into another town." It seems impossible to mark out exactly in the series of St. Luke's narrative the point, where the arrival of the Lord in Jerusalem must be

intercalated. There are three different places where it could be conveniently done. First before ch. 10, v. 1, where we read: "And *after these things* the Lord appointed also seventy-two others, and sent them two by two before His face into every city and place whither He Himself was to come. Secondly, before v. 17, of the same chapter, since there is said, that the seventy-two returned again, so that some space of time must have been passed over in silence between v. 17, and the foregoing verses, which contain the words of Christ to the seventy-two, when He sent them. Thirdly, after the last verse of this ch., for in the last five verses of the same chapter Christ's visit to the house of Martha, no doubt at Bethania, 2 miles distant from Jerusalem, is mentioned. We would be inclined to prefer the second, for the reason already given, so that a short time before the feast of the tabernacles the seventy-two were sent; then follows what He did at the festival, described by St. John; and after the festival, the seventy-two returned with joy to the Lord, probably before He had left Judea again.

10.—FROM THE FEAST OF THE TABERNACLES, UNTIL THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION (FROM OCT. UNTIL THE END OF DECEMBER).

1. It was about the middle of the festival of tabernacles,*) the 19th of the month Tischri (Octob.) 781, U. C., when Jesus arriving at Jerusalem went up to the temple and taught. The Jews, that is, probably the Pharisees, and members of the Sanhedrim, had sought Him before at the beginning of the festival. Among the multitude there was much murmuring

*) The feast lasted seven days, Lev. 23, 36. The eighth day was also celebrated, although not in tents, wherefore the feast was counted as of eight days.

concerning Him; for some said: He is a good man; and others said: No, He seduceth the people. The members of the Sanhedrim show contempt against His doctrine, as of one, who possessed no regular learning. Christ answers them, that His doctrine is from a higher source, than human learning; if they would be intent on doing the will of God, they would know that His doctrine is of God; but, though they have the law of Moses, they keep it not. Therefore they oppose Him, and seek to kill Him under the vain pretence that, by healing the infirm man of 38 years on the foregoing feast of the Purim, He had violated the Sabbath. Many of the people believed in Him, and said: When the Christ cometh, will He do more miracles than this man doeth? The Pharisees heard the people murmuring these things concerning Him and "the rulers and Pharisees sent officers to apprehend Him. On the last great day of the festivity arose a dissension among the people because of Him. And some of them wished to apprehend Him, but no man laid hands upon Him. The officers therefore came to the chief priests and the Pharisees, and they said unto them: Why have ye not brought Him? The officers answered: Never did man speak like this man. The Pharisees therefore answered them: Are ye also seduced? Hath any one of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed in Him? But this multitude that knoweth not the law, are accursed. Nicodemus, he that came to Him by night, who was one of them, said to them: Doth our law condemn any man, unless it first hear him and know what he doeth? They answered and said to him: Art thou also a Galilean? Search the Scriptures and see that out of Galilee a prophet riseth not. And every man returned to his own house," that is, the meeting was broken up, without any measure being adopted. And Jesus went to Mount Olivet. And early in the morning He came again into the temple, and all the people came to Him, and sitting down He taught them. He was interrupted by the scribes and Pharisees, bringing to Him a woman taken in adultery. Having dismissed her in the known

most merciful manner, He continued to speak to the people and to argue with the Pharisees, until at last He said to them: Verily, Verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was made, *I am.* They took up stones therefore, to cast at Him But Jesus hid Himself, and went out of the temple. Nevertheless Jesus gave sight to the man who was born blind immediately after the foregoing danger. For thus St. John continues: "And Jesus passing by, saw a man who was blind from his birth." The Jews, it seems, became somewhat perplexed by the evidence of this miracle. The man born blind was cast out of the Synagogue; and when the same shortly after falling down, adored Jesus as the son of God, Jesus said: "For judgment I am come into the world, that they who see not, may see and they who see, may become blind." Herewith is intimately connected the following similitude of the good shepherd and the hireling, intended to show that the rulers of Israel, the scribes and Pharisees, because they are blind, are not any longer qualified to be the teachers and leaders of the people. On account of these words of Jesus a new dissension rose among the Jews, that is, among the rulers and Pharisees themselves; and many of them said: "He hath a devil and is mad; why harken you to him?" Others said: "These are not the words of one that hath a devil; can a devil open the eyes of the blind?" Here St. John adds immediately what occurred on the next festival of the dedication of the temple, about two months later. From St. Luke we know, that Jesus left Jerusalem and returned in the meantime to Galilee;*) for here, as we said, we have to insert 1) the return of the seventy-two 2) the parable of the good Samaritan, and 3) the visit of the Lord to the house of Martha and Mary at Bethania. (St. Luke ch. 10, v. 17—42.) What we read in the v. 1, of ch. 11, occurred probably when Jesus was again in Galilee. "And it

*) Patritius however thinks that Jesus did not return to Galilee, but remained in the country of Judea during these two months. II, 413. III. Dissert. 48, n. 22.

came to pass, that as He was in a certain place praying, when He ceased, one of His disciples said to Him: Lord teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples." But the Pharisees and the scribes, as it seems, followed Him now wheresoever He went. Having taught His disciples how to pray, He was casting out a devil, and the same was dumb; the multitudes wondered, but the *Pharisees* said: "By the prince of the devils He casteth out devils." (Matth. 9, 32.) Having rejected this infamous calumny, a certain Pharisee asked Him to dine with him. On this occasion he pronounced woes against the Pharisees and lawyers for their hypocricy, so that they began vehemently to urge Him, and to oppress His mouth about many things, lying in wait for Him and seeking to catch something from His mouth, that they might accuse Him. (Luke ch. 11.)

3. In ch. 12, we read that when a great multitude crowded about Him, He warns His disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy, then against the fear of the world, and covetousness; and admonishes all to watch. From v. 47, He speaks of His mission, similar as when in Jerusalem, and the blindness of those who do not know Him. He says: "I am come to cast fire upon earth; and what do I wish but that it be kindled?.....Do ye think that I came to give peace on earth? No, I tell you, but division.....Hypocrites, ye know how to discern the face of the heaven and of the earth; but how is it that ye do not discern this time?" And when some told im of the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, He answering said.....I say to you, but unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish, adding at the same time the parable of the barren fig-tree.

Teaching in a synagogue on the sabbath, He cured an infirm woman, bowed together so that she could not look upwards at all. The ruler of the synagogue being angry at this, Jesus said: Ye hypocrites, doth not each of you on the sabbath-day loose his ox, or his ass from the stall, and lead to wa-

ter? And this daughter of Abraham whom Satan hath bound, lo! these eighteen years, ought she not to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day? When the people rejoiced for all the glorious things, that were done by Him, He added the two parables of the mustard seed and of the leaven. Here then we place, following Patritius, His journey to the feast of the dedication. St. Luke says: And He went through the cities and towns, teaching and making His journey to Jerusalem." ch. 13, v. 22. But we cannot agree with Patritius, when he concludes from v. 31, and 35, that all which follows immediately after v. 22., must be placed in the time of the last journey of the Lord to Jerusalem. Patritius says: From v. 31, we see, that Jesus was in the territory of Herod, that is, Galilee; for some of the Pharisees came, saying: Depart and get Thee hence, for Herod hath a mind to put Thee to death. From v. 35, it follows, that this was the last presence in Galilee before His solemn entry into Jerusalem on the first day of the passion-week, for thus we read: "Behold your house shall be left desolate to you. And I say to you, that ye shall not see Me till the time come, when ye shall say: Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." The conclusion, derived from v. 31, is, no doubt, correct; but the conclusion, inferred from v. 35, we cannot admit; for even supposing, that the words: You shall not see me etc., must be understood of the solemn entry of Christ into Jerusalem, they would not exclude the coming of Christ in the mean time to Jerusalem; for He does not say, that the people of Jerusalem will not see Him until this day, but the people of Galilee, to whom He spoke these words. But moreover the passage referred to, can scarcely be understood of the solemn entry into Jerusalem. The same words which we read here, we find again in Matth. 23, v. 39, after Christ had already solemnly entered Jerusalem. To say, that Matth. placed these words out of the order of time, is impossible, considering the connection of the passage. Christ repeated the same words which we read here in St. Luke, on

another occasion, stated by St. Matthew. Therefore Maldonat*) of the ancient, and Schegg of the modern interpreters assert, that the passage, referred to, must be understood of the second coming of the Lord, or the conversion of the Jews at the end of the world. Hence we cannot consent to the conclusion, drawn by Patritius from v. 35. Besides this, the words of St. Luke "He went through *cities and towns* teaching, and making His journey to Jerusalem," seem to import, that Christ at that time set out for Jerusalem, but moving slowly, because teaching in cities and towns through which He passed. Therefore we think it even better to connect all what we read from ch. 13, 22, until ch. 17, v. 11, with this journey to the feast of the dedication. At least the narrative of St. Luke seems to offer no more convenient place than this for the intercalation of all what Christ did at the festival of the dedication and immediately after it.

4. According to the foregoing remarks, it was on His way to Jerusalem, that He answered the question, whether there are few that are saved, and said to the Pharisees, threatening Him with the wicked intention of Herod: "Go and tell that fox: Behold I cast out devils and work cures to-day and to-morrow; and the third day I am consumated. And then, coming into the house of one of the chiefs of the Pharisees on the sabbath-day to eat bread, He healed the dropsical man, adding at the same time, the parable of the supper. After this, great multitudes following Him, He turned and told them that those who want to follow Him must renounce all things. In the 15th ch. we read the affecting parables of the lost sheep and of the prodigal son; and in ch. 16, those of the unjust steward, and of the rich man and Lazarus. In ch. 17, He speaks to His disciples of the grievious sin of scandal; of forgiving the brother, even if he sin against thee seven times in a day, and

*) Maldonatus: "*Secundum* Christi adventum significari *omnes consentiunt auctores*; quomodo autem Judaei in secundo adventu dicturi sint de Christo:" 'Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini, de eo dissentiunt.

seven times in a day turn to thee, saying: I repent; of the efficacy of faith and of humility before God, so that ye, when ye shall have done all these things that have been commanded, you say: We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which we were bound to do. Here, at last, follows the remark, v. 11: "And it came to pass, as He was going to Jerusalem, He passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." These words, no doubt, refer to His last journey to Jerusalem, when after the feast of the dedication and the raising to life of Lazarus, He proceeded from Ephrem, where He had hid Himself for a while, through Samaria to Galilee, and thence went up to the last passover. We have, therefore, here again a short interruption of the narrative of St. Luke. All that occurred at the festival and immediately after until the time when Christ entered on his last journey, is omitted and must be here inserted from the Gospel of St. John.

11.—FROM THE FESTIVAL OF THE DEDICATION UNTIL THE PASSION WEEK, OR FROM THE END OF DECEMBER UNTIL THE TENTH OF NISAN (20TH OF MARCH.)

1. "And it was the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem, and it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch." This festival fell on the twenty-fifth of the Hebrew month Caslev, corresponding to the 15th December: it was a festival of eight days. The wintry season is mentioned as the reason why our Lord was walking in the porch, under shelter. (Kenrick.) The porch of Solomon was on the east side of the temple, and is therefore called by Josephus the eastern porch. It was the only part left uninjured when the Babylonians destroyed the temple of Solomon. In this portico Christ walked on a day of the said festival, when the Jews, that is, the members of the Sanhedrim, came around Him and said to Him: How long dost

Thou keep our mind in suspense? If Thou be the Christ, (the Messiah,) tell us plainly. Jesus answers not directly to their question; for they knew it well, that He manifested Himself as the Messiah, as they had already agreed among themselves at the foregoing festival, that if any man should confess Him to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue. Hence He told them what the reason is that they believed not the testimony of His works. "But ye do not believe, because ye are not of My sheep." My sheep hear My voice:*) and I know them, and they follow Me, and no man shall tear them from My hands—and why? "That which My Father has given to Me, that is, the dignity, the power, or, as St. Augustin explains, the communication of the divine nature, is greater than all." The power of the Father is Mine; and no one can snatch them out of the hand of My Father. I and the Father are one," that is, according to the Greek, one thing, of the same nature, substance, essence. By these words Jesus declared Himself not only to be the Messiah, but to be the Messiah of divine nature. The Jews understood well the sense of these words; they took up stones to stone Him. And when Jesus said: "Many good works I have showed you from My Father: For which of those works do ye stone Me? They answered Him: For a good work, we stone Thee not, but for blasphemy: and because that being a man, Thou makest Thyself God." Jesus shows them in His answer, first, that to call Himself the Son of God does not imply a blasphemy, for Scripture calls the judges even, gods, because God clothed them with authority, (Ps. 81, 6.) And secondly, they must believe Him on account of His

*) Christ refers the Jews to the parable of the good shepherd, by which He concluded His words to them on the foregoing festival of the tabernacles; we must therefore suppose, that the Jews who asked Him on this occasion, were, at least partly, the very same to whom He had spoken the said parable. In a similar manner He referred them above at the festival of the tabernacles, to a miracle which He had wrought on the preceding festival of the Purim.

works, even if He calls Himself the Son of God by nature. "If I do not the works of My Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye will not believe Me, believe the works: that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father." The Jews understood again very well these words of our Lord. But being obstinate in their unbelief, though they could not bring any objection to the close argument, they would not believe. Therefore they sought to take Him, and He went out of their hands. And He went again beyond the Jordan, to that place where John was baptizing first, and there He abode.

2. How long Jesus remained in the country beyond the Jordan, is not distinctly said; but from chap. 11, v. 8, we may safely conclude with Patritius, that it was not very long; for when the sisters, Martha and Mary, sent to Him, saying: "Lord, behold, he whom Thou lovest is sick," He still remained in the same place two days: Then after that, He said to His disciples, let us go into Judea again. The disciples say to Him: Rabbi, the Jews *but now* sought to stone Thee, and goest Thou thither again? When Jesus came to Bethania, there He was told that Lazarus had been already four days in the grave. Many of the Jews were come to Martha and Mary to comfort them, concerning their brother. They followed Mary to the grave; in their presence the stone was moved away from the grave, and Jesus cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth. "And presently he that had been dead came forth, bound feet and hands with winding bands, and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus said to them, loose him and let him go." Many of the Jews believed in Jesus, seeing this great miracle. But some of them went to the Pharisees, and told them the things that Jesus had done. This caused great alarm among them. A council was called, and they said: what are we doing, for this man doeth many miracles? If we let Him alone so, all will believe in Him; and the Romans will come, and take away our place and nation. But one of them named

Caiphas, being high-priest for that year, said to them: "Ye know nothing, neither do ye consider that it is expedient for you, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. And this he spoke not of himself; but being the high-priest for that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation. And not only for the nation, adds the Evangelist according to St. Augustin, but to gather together in one the children of God, that were dispersed." Wherefore Jesus walked no more openly among the Jews, but He went into a country near the desert, to a city that is called Ephrem, and there He abode with His disciples. According to Eusebius, this place was situated only eight miles north of Jerusalem, near the desert of Jericho, or the Quarantana. St. Jerom places it twenty miles north of Jerusalem. Josephus in his history of the Jewish war under Vespasian, mentions it, and says that it was taken by this Roman leader, when approaching Jerusalem with his army, therefore the statement of Eusebius seems to be more correct.

3. Patritius thinks that the terms, used by St. John*) to designate the abode of the Lord in Ephrem, indicate a longer delay in that place. But that Christ returned from his retreat to Galilee before He went up the last time to Jerusalem, is, according to the same author, out of question.†) This return is expressed by St. Luke, ch. 17, v. 11, saying; "And it came to pass, as He was going to Jerusalem, He passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." The sense of this passage in this connection, we think, is obvious. Setting out from Ephrem with the intention to appear again publicly in Jerusalem, He returned through Samaria the last time to Galilee. This is confirmed by an incident not noticed by Patritius. St. Matthew relates in ch. 17, v. 23: "And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the double drachm, (that is,

*) In Greek "διέτριβεν"—in Latin, "*Morabatur.*"

†) Attamen in Galilaeam Christum remeasse, priusquam ultimo iret Hiero-

the tax for the temple), ‡) came to Peter and said to him: Doth not your master pay the double drachm?" In this we have a chronological date; this tax was annually published at the first of Adar, (February); the fifteenth of the same month the money changers put up everywhere their tables to exchange the Hebrew coin, in which the tax was to be paid, for Greek or Roman coins. The last five days of the month all those that had not paid, were distrained according to law. At the first of Nisan the whole collection of this tax was to be completed.§) Hence we know that our Lord was in Capernaum between the 15th and 24th of Adar, that is, toward the end of February, 782, U. C. We may therefore, conjecture, that He left Ephrem in the earlier part of February and came, teaching on the way, perhaps after the middle of the month, to Capernaum, where He probably remained a short while. On His way to Galilee, He entered into a certain town, where ten lepers, who met him, were healed. The Pharisees put the question to him: "When doth the kingdom of God, (that is by the Messiah) come?" He answered them and said: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation;" that is with pomp and display. Then He spoke to His disciples on the manner of His second coming, and the necessity of assiduous prayers, adding to it at the same time the parable of the Pharisee and the tax-gatherer. Hereabout, we think, must be inserted His last abode in Capernaum; for St. Matthew begins ch. 19, with this remark: "And it came to pass that when Jesus had ended these words, He departed from Galilee and came into the territory of Judea, beyond the Jordan." The same we read in St. Mark, ch. 10, v. 1. Then having men-

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solymam, certo constat, quum iter hoc (ultimum) a Galilaea inceptum fuisse Lucas aperte dicat—Patrit.

‡) Nehem. 10, 23; Chronic. 24, 6,

§) Schegg to Matth. 17, v. 24, Haneberg. Calmet—Docent Rabbini exigendi hujus census initium fuisse diem 15 vel 25, mensis Adar, atque unius mensis spatium hujusmodi solutioni destinatum.

tioned the d claration of the Lord that marriage is indissoluble, both of them coincide with St. Luke in the continuation of his narrative, relating, that He blessed the children brought to Him, showed the way of perfection to the young man, and as he would not follow him because he was rich, spoke to the disciples of the danger of riches, on which occasion Peter said: "Behold, we have left all things and followed thee." To this we may add from St. Matth. ch. 20, v. 1–17, the parable of the laborers in the vineyard. From the given connection we conclude that Jesus went from Capernaum beyond the Jordan, and came through Perea to the borders of Judea. Having arrived there, He took the road to Jerusalem, (Mark 10, 32.) He went before the disciples and they were astonished; and following they were afraid. And taking again the twelve, He began to tell them the things that should befall Him. "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be betrayed to the chief-priests and scribes and ancients, and they will condemn Him to death, and deliver Him to the Gentiles, and they will mock Him, and spit on Him and scourge Him, and put Him to death,*) and on the third day He will rise again." The disciples could not comprehend these words. St. Matth. and St. Mark mention here the ambition of the sons of Zebedee, their mother asking of the Lord, that her two sons may sit, the one on His right hand and the other on the left, in His kingdom. After this the three Evangelists mention, that Jesus came to Jericho, where He gave the sight to three blind men, to one when entering, and to two others, coming out of Jericho. St. Luke alone recorded the affecting conversion of Zacchaeus, who received the Lord with joy in his house. On this occasion, He added and spoke the parable of the pounds, because He was nigh to Jerusalem, and because they thought that the Kingdom of God would be manifested

*) St. Matth. 20, 19. "And they will deliver Him to the Gentiles to be mocked and scourged and *crucified*."

immediately, that is, in order to correct this view and prepare them for delay. According to the synoptical Gospels we would think, that Jesus went directly from Jericho to Jerusalem. But St. John supplies here, that Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethania, where they made Him a supper. This supper was prepared*) in the house of Simon the leper. (Matth. 26, 6. Mark 14, 3.) It was the day before the sabbath, that is, friday evening, when Christ reached Bethania,†) and there He remained on the sabbath. Bethania being only fifteen furlongs distant from Jerusalem, at the foot of Mount Olivet, to the east of the city, many Jews came from Jerusalem, not for the sake of Jesus only, but that they might see Lazarus whom He had raised from the dead. "But the chief priests thought to kill Lazarus also, because many of the Jews by reason of him went away and believed in Jesus." On the next day, that is the day after the sabbath, on the first day of the week or our Sunday, Jesus entered Jerusalem solemnly, as the king of the daughter of Sion, meek and humble, sitting on the colt of an ass.

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*) By Matth. and Mark this supper is mentioned two days before the passover, yet it does not follow from this that the supper took place on the day when mentioned by them. The two Evangelists intend, principally on the passage referred to, to state the first motive for the treason of Judas Iscariot, which was manifested the first time at the supper in the house of Simon; hence when relating that Judas went two days before the passover to the Jews to betray the Lord, they refer back to this supper, where Judas showed his avariee.

†) Maldonat:—Constat. ex iis quae diximus Matth. 26, 2. Christum in illo ultimo reditu, quo ex Galilaea in Judaeam venit, *pridie Sabbati* Bethaniam venisse, ipso vero sabbato ibi quievisse, ubi fecerunt ei coenam magnam.—*Maldonat.* Patritius differs somewhat.

12—THE PASSION-WEEK — FROM THE SOLEMN ENTRANCE OF JESUS INTO JERUSALEM UNTIL THE FOURTEENTH OF NISAN, (24TH OF MARCH.)

1. It was the tenth of Nisan, (the 20th of March) when Jesus solemnly entered Jerusalem. On this day the paschal lamb was selected for the approaching festivity; for thus we read in Exod. 12, 3. "On the tenth day of this month let every man take a lamb by their families and houses." When He was coming on His way from Bethania near the descent of mount Olivet, the whole multitude of the disciples began with joy to praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works they had seen; but He, seeing the city, wept over it, foretelling its destruction. The effect of this solemn entrance on the Pharisees is described by three of the Evangelists. St. John remarks "that they said among themselves: "Do ye not see that we prevail nothing? Behold the whole world is gone after Him." St. Luke records that some of the Pharisees from among the multitude, said to Jesus: "Master, rebuke Thy disciples!" and St. Mathew says, that when even the children in the temple were crying out and saying: Hosanna to the Son of David, the chief-priests and scribes were moved with indignation." St. Mathew and St Luke state, that Christ having entered Jerusalem, went into the temple and *cast out* all them that sold and bought in the temple. St. Mark appears on this occasion to be the most exact; he says: "He entered into Jerusalem, into the temple; and having viewed all things round about, when now evening was come, He went out to Bethania, with the twelve." And the next day, that is Monday of the passion-week, when they came out of Bethania, He was hungry, and when he had seen from afar a fig tree having leaves,*) He came, if perhaps He might find

*) The words "having leaves" seem to denote something peculiar, as if the other trees thereabout had been without leaves, or at least, had no such leaves as promised figs.—*Lightfoot.*

any thing on it. And when He was come to it, He found nothing but leaves, for it was not the time for figs,*) and answering He said to it: "May man nevermore hereafter eat fruit of thee. And His disciples heard it, and they came to Jerusalem; and when he was entered into the temple, He began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and He overthrew the tables of the money changers and the stalls of them that sold doves, and He suffered not that any man should carry a vessel through the temple." Comparing in this passage St. Mark with St. Mathew, we see that the first enters more minutely into the details, which the other records collectively, having in view rather the connexion of the matter than the time when they respectively occurred. (Kenrick). It was, therefore, on the second day that He cursed the fig-tree, and subsequently cast the buyers and sellers out of the temple. "And He taught them saying to them: Is it not written, My house shall be called the house of prayer to all nations? but ye have made it a den of thieves." Which when the chief-priests and the scribes had heard, they sought how they might destroy Him; for they feared Him, because the whole multitude was in admiration at His doctrine. And when evening was come, He went forth out of the city, that is, again to Bethania, and when they passed by in the morning, returning again to the city, they saw the fig-tree †) dried up from the roots; and Peter remembering, said to Him: Rabbi,

*) Figs that do not ripen in season, sometimes ripen afterwards in the spring. D. D. Kenrick, Hug, Gutachten II, 83. Joseph Fl. says "that during ten months figs may be found on a fig-tree." Bell. Jud. III. 10, § 8. Calmet says, that according to a notice which he received from Palestine, figs ripen in September, November and December; those of the last kind remain frequently on the tree until spring.

†) The fig-tree was the symbol of the Jewish nation; it had leaves, whilst the other trees had not. Thus the Jewish nation had all external appearance of justice, but it was void of fruit, when Christ came to visit it, and drew on itself a curse.—Kenrick, Schegg, Calmet, etc.

behold the fig-tree which Thou didst curse, is withered away. And Jesus answering said to them: Verily I say to you, if ye have faith, and waver not, ye may not only do this of the fig-tree, but even if ye say to this mountain: Raise thyself and cast thyself into the sea, it shall be done. And all things whatsoever ye shall ask with faith and prayer, ye shall receive." And they came again to Jerusalem. This was the third day of the week, the tuesday. It was the last day of His public preaching, a day of unceasing labor from morning to night; we are better informed of all that He did and said on this last day than of any other day of His life on earth, that we may learn to understand better how much He has labored for our sake. When He was walking in the temple, the chief-priests, and the scribes, and the ancients, come to him and say: By what authority doest Thou these things? and who has given Thee this authority, that Thou shouldst do these things?*) And Jesus answering said to them: I will ask you one word, and answer me: and I will tell you by what authority I do these things: "Was the baptism of John from heaven or from men?" And when they answered we know not, †) Jesus said: Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things." Then He began to speak to them in parables. 1) The first of them was that of the two sons, of whom one would not work in the vineyard of his father, yet afterwards went to work; whilst the other one, though he said "I go," did not go after all. 2) The second, is that of the vineyard and husbandmen. 3) That of the stone, which the builders rejected, and yet became the head of the corner. 4) St. Matthew places here also, the parable of the marriage feast. 5) Now they proposed to him the captious question, whether it be lawful to pay taxes to Cesar or not. 6) Then He silenced the Sadducees, who say there is no resurrection.†) 7) After this came one of the

*) Matth., 21, 23. Mark, 11, 28. Luke, 20, 2.

†) They showed by this that they were not disposed to receive the truth.

scribes that had heard them reasoning together, and seeing that He had answered them well, he asked Him which was the first commandment of all. 8) Having answered this question, He asked them how the scribes say that Christ is the Son of David. 9) He admonishes the people to follow the good doctrine of the scribes and Pharisees, but not their bad examples, pronouncing terrible woes against their hypocrisy. 10) Sitting over against the treasury, He, seeing a poor widow cast in two mites, says that she has cast in more than all the rest. 11) On this day He spoke also the parable of the ten virgins and of the talents. 12) Going out of the temple, and coming up on the Mount Olivet, over against the temple, He foretells the destruction of the same, and the signs that shall precede the judgment. St. Matth. adds in chap. 25, 31, a description of the last judgment.

2. St. John connects with the solemn entrance into Jerusalem another fact, not mentioned by the synoptic gospels. It is likely that it did not occur on the first day, but on the third and last.*) There were, he says, some gentiles who came up to adore on the festival day. These, therefore, came to Philip and desired him, saying: "Sir, we wish to see Jesus." Philip cometh and telleth Andrew, again Andrew and Philip told Jesus." This desire of the Gentiles turned the thoughts of Jesus on His approaching death and its effects. Therefore Jesus answered them, saying; "The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling in the ground, die, itself remaineth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.....Now My soul is troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour? But for this cause I came unto this hour."†) And

*) Adalb. Maier. II. p. 268, Patritius however is of the opposite opinion. II. 420.

†) Kenrick: "For this very purpose He had come. This reflection determines His acquiescence."

finally He concludes in these solemn words: "Father, glorify Thy name."*) When He had pronounced this expression of heroical resignation, a voice came from heaven: "I have both glorified it, and I will glorify it, again." Distinct sounds were heard as from the skies, as loud as thunder. St. John says: "The multitude, therefore, that stood by and heard, said that it thundered. Others said: An angel hath spoken to Him." Jesus answered and said: This voice came not for Me, but for your sakes. Now is the judgment of the world; now shall the prince of the world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to Myself"..... Yet a little while the light is in you.....Whilst you have the light, believe in the light, that you may be children of light." "These things," St. John adds, "Jesus spoke and He went away and hid Himself from them." A. Maier understands these words in the sense, that Jesus went away, never to appear again publicly, in order to teach. Hence all that we read from v. 37—50, are reflections of the Evangelist himself on the obstinate unbelief of the Jews. "Although," he says, "Jesus had done so many miracles before them, they did not believe in Him.....However, he continues, many of the chief men also believed in Him; but because of the Pharisees they did not own it, that they might not be cast out of the synagogue; for they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God." That they however, in this are not excusable, he shows by the words of Jesus, which, at least partly, he had already given before, namely ch. 1, v. 15.†)

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*) This conflict of feeling was renewed in the garden, and gave occasion to the two-fold prayer: "Father let this cup pass away; nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be fulfilled."—Kenrick.

†) Patritius: " Plane incompertum est, quo die Christus ea dixerit, quae sunt in Joann. 12, 44—50, nisi quod nemo non intelligit, *ea* afferri a Joanne non *historice* sed *demonstrative*, quorum appositione illos coarguit, in quos proxime invectus est, quique crediderunt in eum sed propter Pharisaeos non confitebantur, ut e synagoga non ejicerentur, quare *illa* Christi verba ab his *Joannis* verbis separari non possunt. II 420.

3. When Christ concluded His public ministry in the stated, most solemn and impressive manner two days before His passion, the hatred of the Pharisees had reached its highest pitch. As St. John records, they had already, before Jesus appeared at the festival, given a commandment, that if any man knew where He was, he should tell that they might apprehend Him." Of St. Luke we mentioned above a passage, referring to this. (Luke 19, 47.). In another place, when Christ had spoken of the stone, that "upon whomsoever it shall fall, will crush him to atoms," the same Evangelist remarks: "And the chief priests and the scribes sought to lay hands on Him the same hour; and they feared the people." The two other Evangelists use nearly the same words. (Matth. 21, 45. St. Mark 14, 18.) Moreover they add: "Then (two days before the passover) the chief priests and ancients of the people were gathered together into the court of the high priest, who was called Caiphas, and they consulted together, that they might apprehend Jesus by stratagem and put Him to death; but they said: not on the festival, lest perhaps there be a tumult among the people." (Matth. 26, 3, 4,. Mark. 14, 1, 2.) This plan however, to postpone it after the festival, was discarded, when Judas Iscariot appeared before them, ready to deliver his Master into their hands for the price of thirty pieces of silver, in consequence of which Jesus was put to death against the original designs of His enemies on the festival. Judas found probably on wednesday, whilst Christ remained in retirement at Bethania, the wished for opportunity to steal away from the other Apostles without being noticed, and to conclude the most atrocious covenant with the chief priests. "And thenceforth he sought an opportunity to deliver Him up," (St. Matth. 26, 16,) which he found the following day.

13.—THE LAST SUPPER ON THE FOURTEENTH OF NISAN (24TH OF MARCH.)

1. On the 14th of Nisan, at sunset, the passover or paschal lamb had to be sacrificed and eaten, according to the law. Exod. 12, v. 3—8. "On the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb by their families and houses.....and you shall keep it until the fourteenth day of this month and the whole multitude of the hildren of Israel shall sacrifice it in the evening.....and they shall eat the flesh that night, roasted at the fire, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce." This day was also called the first day of the unleavened bread; for though, strictly speaking, the first day of the azymes did not begin before the evening of the 14th of Nisan, yet commonly the whole 14th day of Nisan was called by this name, because the unleavened bread was prepared on this day and all leaven was put out of the houses and burned before noon.*) It was therefore on the fourteenth of Nisan, which fell, according to our calculations on thursday, when the disciples came to Jesus, saying: "Where wilt thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the passover?" Matth. 26, 17. Similar to this St. Mark. 14, 12. St. Luke writes: "And the day of the unleavened bread came, on which it was necessary that the passover should be killed; and He sent Peter and John, saying: Go and prepare for us the passover, that we may eat. (ch. 22, 7, 8.) According to these passages it is evident, that Jesus ate the passover with His disciples on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, when the days of the unleavened bread had already begun. From this we draw two consequences, 1) that, the holy Eucharist was instituted in unleavened bread, and 2) that, since Christ died the day after the last supper, it was the first

*) This is confirmed by St. Mark, saying: "Now on the first day of the unleavened bread when they sacrificed the passover, the disciples say to Him." Ch. 14, 1, 2, confirmed also by Patritius II, p. 423.

day of the easter solemnities, the 15th of Nisan, when He suffered and died for the world on the cross.

2. But against these our conclusions, very serious objections are deduced from the gospel of St. John. In ch. 13, v. 1, we read: "*Before the festival day of the passover*, Jesus knowing that His hour had come.....and *during supper*".....Here St. John undoubtedly speaks also of the last supper, at which Christ ate the passover; but since St. John says, that this took place *before* the festival day of the *passover*, it has the appearance, that Christ anticipated this year by one day the exact time when the Jews used to eat the paschal lamb. This seems to be more confirmed by ch. 18, v. 28, where St. John remarks that the Pharisees, when they had led Jesus from Caiphas to the pagan governor, went not into the hall, that they might not be defiled, but *that they might eat the passover*; hence it seems that they had not yet eaten at that time the passover or the paschal lamb, and therefore it would follow, that either Jesus had the legal time anticipated or that the Jews had it postponed this year. Moreover the same sacred author, speaking in ch. 19, 14 of the last attempt of Pilate to overcome the violence of the Jews, remarks: "And it was the eve (or the preparation) of the passover, about the sixth hour, and he (Pilate) said to the Jews: "Behold your king." From this it seems to be perfectly sure, that Christ died the day before the easter-solemnities were celebrated, that is, on the day when they prepared for them and consequently anticipated the passover with His disciples.

3. To solve these difficulties, Harduin and others supposed that the Galileans used to eat the passover one day sooner, than the other Jews. But there is neither any passage in Scripture, nor any reliable testimony in tradition to be shown, which would support such a supposition; and even if such a custom could be proved it would not be probable that Jesus, who was of the tribe of Juda, and observed strictly the law, would not rather have observed with the Jews a commandment, so distinctly expressed

in the Mosaical law. Abandoning, therefore, this conjecture, some supposed, that the Jews, because the second day of easter or of the unleavened bread was that year a sabbath, had postponed the beginning of the easter-solemnities by one day; for the first day of easter being of great solemnity would prevent them from making the necessary preparations for the immediately following sabbath; Jesus, however, they continue, has eaten the passover on the day pointed out by the law, without postponing it. Hence the difference between the synoptical gospels and that of St. John consists in this, that the former speak of the day, when the passover had to be celebrated according to the letter of the law, whilst St. John speaks of the day to which it was postponed that year by the Jews. And no doubt this conjecture would remove all difficulties, had it not the same defect, as the foregoing. It cannot be shown neither by Scripture, nor by tradition, that such a postponement was lawful, or ever was made. Hence we are compelled to join the opinion of those who say, that neither an anticipation, nor a postponement of the passover took place on either side, but Jesus ate the passover at the same time, when the Jews did, according to the law, that is on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, the statements of the synoptical gospels and of St. John, if properly understood, being by no means contradictory.

4. The Jews used different measures of the day, a legal, a natural and an artificial; the legal day lasted from evening to evening; the natural from midnight to midnight and the artificial from the rising of the sun until the next morning. We know from what we said above, how far the 14th of Nisan could be called the first day of the unleavened bread.*) Moreover the whole festival time was commonly called "the days of the unleavened bread;" the word "passover" was used in divers sen-

*) Since the exile, the whole 14th of Nisan was counted to the sacred time; hence Jos. Fl. speaks of *eight* days of the fetival. Schegg. III, 342.

ses, sometimes to designate the eve of the festival, when the paschal lamb was eaten, sometimes the paschal lamb itself, and finally also in a more extended sense the whole festival and all the sacrifices, connected with the festival.*) Having these simple remarks in mind, all difficulties disappear, as it were, by themselves. We understand easily, how the synoptical gospels could say that the passover was *prepared* and eaten on the first day of the unleavened bread, since not only the evening of the 14th of Nisan, but the entire day was called the first day of the unleavened bread; and if St. John says that the last supper took place before the festival of passover, we have no difficulty in reconciling this remark with the other gospels. St. John speaks not of the day, measured according to law from evening to evening, but according to its natural or artificial measure; and moreover, he uses the word "passover" not of the time when the paschal lamb was eaten, but of the whole festival.†) In a similar manner the second passage from John ch. 18, v. 28, is divested at once of all its difficulty, if the word "*passover*" is according to our remarks understood not only of the paschal lamb, but of all the sacrifices of the easter-time. To confirm, what we said above, we refer to Deut. 16, 2, where we read: "And thou shalt sacrifice the *phase* (passover,) to the Lord thy God, *of sheep and of oxen* in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose." Hence if St John in the passage

*) Schegg. III, 342. Wahl. Cl. N. T. s. v. Πάσχα. St. Luke 22, I, "Now the *feast* of the unleavened bread, *which is called passover*, was at hand."

†) In this manner the difficulty was answered by St. Thom., the Catech. Rom. Benedict XIV and lately by Schegg, "Cum autem dicitur, Joan. 13, *ante diem paschae*," intelligitur hoc fuisse quarta decima, quod tunc evenit feria quinta: nam luna existente quinta decima erat dies solemnissimus Paschae apud Judaeos et sic eundem diem quem Joannes nominat ante diem festum Paschae, propter distinctionem naturalium dierum, Matth. nominat primum diem azymorum, quia secundum ritum Judaicae festivitatis solemnitas incipiebat a vespera praecedentis diei" S. Th. p. 3, q. 46. a. 9, Catech. Rom. p. 2. c. 13.

referred to, remarks "that the Pharisees would not enter into the hall of Pilate, that they might eat the passover," it does not follow that they had at that time not yet eaten the paschal lamb, but the remark of St. John can be understood without any difficulty of the other paschal sacrifices during the whole easter-week, from which they would have been excluded by entering the unclean house of a pagan.

5. The greatest difficulty arises, no doubt, from the third passage of St. John, ch. 19, 14: "It was the *eve of the passover*," when Pilate said to the Jews: "Behold your king." To get out of this perplexity, we may be guided by comparing St. Luke ch. 23, 54, where we read of the day on which Jesus died: "And it was *the day of preparation*, and the *sabbath* was drawing near." Hence we perceive, that also St. Luke speaks of a day of *preparation*, yet not for the paschal week, but for the *sabbath*. St. Mark says in a similar way ch. 15, 42: "Because it was the *Purasceve*, *that is the day before the sabbath*." These two Evangelists stated before this, that the time of the unleavened bread or easter had already begun the foregoing day; hence we conclude 1) that the *sabbath*, on the parasceve of which Christ died, was not, as some supposed, the first day of easter, but the second; 2) that according to these Evangelists, the necessary preparation for the sabbath could be made on the first day of the easter-solemnities. From this we see, that the words of St. John "Erat antem Parasceve Paschae" are not to be understood of the parasceve for the passover, but of the parasceve of or rather *during* the passover for the sabbath which fell on the second day of the easter-festival.*) To understand

*) Kenrick remarks to John, 14, 14. "The eve of the paschal sabbath, that is, of the sabbath, which occurred within the octave of the paschal solemnity." In a similar manner we say "Easter-saturday, easter-sunday, easter-monday, Dominica Paschae, fer. II. Paschae." But the translation of Kenrick "it was the *eve* of the passover," we cannot approve; we would prefer the translation of the Doway Bible, "and it was the *parasceve* of the Pasch."

the passage of St. John in this sense, can make no difficulty, since, as we said, the word "passover" was also understood of the whole easter-week. It has been said, we know, that the parasceve or the day of preparation for the sabbath could not be the 15th of Nisan, that is, the first day of the easter-festival, since this day was of great solemnity, and consequently it was not allowed to prepare anything on this day, and much less, to bring Christ from one tribunal to the other, and execute the sentence of death. But this is not correct; for though the first day of the azymes was a most solemn day, yet it was lawful to prepare the necessary eatables (food) as we read in Exod. 12, 16, "The first day shall be holy and solemn, and the seventh day shall be kept with the like solemnity; you shall do no work, except these things that belong to eating." In St. Matth. ch. 26, 3. 4. we read, that when the members of the Sanhedrim consulted to put Jesus to death, they said: "Not on the festival, lest perhaps there be *a tumult among the people.*" From this we may justly infer, that they did not consider the intended proceedings against Christ unlawful on this day,*) but rather dangerous on account of a tumult among the people. Moreover, as we remarked above, from St. Mark's and St. Luke's statements it must be admitted that the preparation for the sabbath could be made on the first day of the easter-solemnity.

6. The Jews, before supper, washed their hands and face;†) or, as others say, the guests invited to a banquet, took first a bath, and then in the house or the room of the banquet, by a servant the feet were washed from the dust, that might adhere to them in walking from the bath to the table.‡) According to this custom Jesus acted, when rising from the supper, He began to wash the feet of His disciples, in order to teach humility by

*) Doellinger, (l. c. p. 41;) agrees to this, that Christ died on the 15th of Nisan.

†) Kuinoel, Tittman, Bloomfield.

‡) Wetstein.

example, that, as He has done to them, so they do also, that is, not so much by imitating this special act of humility, but by cherishing the spirit with which it was performed, and being ready for similar acts.*) Here the question has been raised, at what time of the supper this act of humility was performed. St. John says, according to the Vulgate, "Coena facta," which is commonly translated: "When supper was done" or "The supper being ended." Hence Calmet considers the washing of the feet to have taken place even after the institution of the Blessed Eucharist, being the last act of the supper, except the hymn, which concluded the whole.†) This explanation however is contradicted by v. 12., where we read, that, having washed the feet, He sat down again. Maldonat, Suarez, Cornel. a. Lap. Benedict XIV, and others propose another order of proceeding: They distinguish a double or threefold supper; the first, they say, was the eating of the paschal lamb with bitter herbs and azymes, the second was then a common meal, at which those who were not satiated by the paschal lamb, the families being sometimes large, could take common food; the third consisted in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. According to them the words of St. John "when supper was done" had to be understood of the eating of the paschal lamb. This, says Suarez, was the proper order; first the legal supper according to the ancient law; then the washing of the feet in order to indicate with how great reverence the future Sacrament must be received; finally the institution of the Sacrament itself. Yet these distinctions of a legal and common supper cannot be sustained. As far as we are informed by the Jewish traditions, the supper of the paschal lamb proceeded in the following order, namely: The master of the family began the feast with a cup of wine, which, having solemnly blessed, he distributed among the guests, and having done so, he washed his

*) Kenrick, John, 13, 15.

†) Patritius consents to this II, 426.

hands. Then the supper began with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, of which, when all had tasted, one of the younger persons present, commonly a child asked the reason and meaning of the feast (Exod. 12, 26,) by which the haggadah was introduced, that is, the showing forth or explanation of the sense of the festivity. After this the master of the family rose and took another cup of wine, and washed his hands again, before the lamb was tasted. Then followed the eating of the passover by all, after which a third and even a fourth cup of wine was blessed and drunk, together with the paschal lamb; if the family was large, meat of a sacrifice was served up; but common food or any thing after the passover was not taken. This was the order of the supper, observed on this occasion, from which every body sees that the foregoing explanation of the "coena facta" cannot be admitted. Several modern authors give, therefore, another translation of the same words; they say, the use of the perfect in the Greek and Vulgate does not imply that the supper was over; "coena facta" can be given without any difficulty by "whilst the supper was made" or "during the supper" and they place then the washing of the feet either after the drinking of the first cup, when the master of the family washed his hands, or after the drinking of the second cup, immediately before eating the paschal lamb. *)

7. By our remarks on the order, observed at the supper of the passover, another difficulty finds an easy solution. It appeared strange to some interpreters that St. Luke and St. Paul, when speaking of the chalice in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, add the remark, "*After He had supped*," whilst when speaking of the bread in the same institution, no such remark is made, whence it seems to follow, that the consecra-

*) Ad. Maier II, 582. Kenrick, Doddrige. "A part of the discourse which John mentions after the feet were washed, is mentioned by the other Evangelists, as passing at supper; nay, John himself, when he speaks (v. 26) of Christ dipping the sop and giving it to Judas after this, plainly shows that the supper was not ended."—*Doddrige.*

tion of the bread took place during the supper, and that of the chalice separately after it. But considering, that, as we said, on three occasions a cup of wine was taken, namely at the beginning of the festivity, then immediately before the the eating of the paschal lamb, and thirdly after it, we understand perfectly the remark, made by St. Luke and St. Paul; they want to say by it, that the institution of the Sacrament does not refer to the cup of wine, blessed before or during the supper, but *after* it.

When Judas Iscariote, after having received the morsel, had gone out (and it was night), Christ spoke His last farewell discourse to His disciples, full of the most tender love, as we read in St. John, ch. 13.—ch. 17. St. Matthew gives the conclusion of the supper in the words: "And after a hymn, they went out unto Mount Olivet." St. John writes: "When Jesus had said these things, He went forth with His disciples over the brook Cedron, where there was a garden, into which He entered with His disciples," John, 16, 1.

14—THE PRAYER IN GETHSEMANI.

1. Then Jesus came with them into a country-place, (or garden) which is called Gethsemani, and He said to His disciples: "Sit ye down here till I go yonder and pray." And taking with Him Peter and the two sons of Zebidee, He began to grow sorrowful and to be sad; then He said: "My soul is sorrowful even unto death;*) stay ye here and watch with me," Matth. 26, 36. The tradition points out this country-place of Gethsemani near to Stephen's Gate beyond the brook Cedron, at the foot of Mount Olivet. It is surrounded with a wall; the spots where Jesus prayed, where the disciples slept and

*) Kenrick, "The Greek terms denote extreme grief verging on the extinction of life."

Judas betrayed his Master, are yet shown to the pilgrim. A grotto is the supposed place where He sufferred the anguish of death. A few old olive trees stand at the sacred spot, marked already at the time of St. Jerom by a chapel, erected thereon.

2. Here the question is raised by ancient and modern writers, whether the sorrow of Christ was a true, real sorrow. St. Augustin in his commentary to psalm 93, answers: "Jesus took on Himself in the same manner the sorrow in which He assumed the flesh; for do not believe that the Lord was not sad; if we would deny this, whilst the Gospel says of Him: My soul is sorrowful even into death," it would follow, that likewise, when the Gospel says that Jesus slept, He had not slept; and when it says that He ate He had not eaten. Hence whatsoever is written of Him, is a fact, is a reality. Was He also sad? By all means; but He took the sorrow on Himself by His will, as He assumed the flesh by His will, and as He assumed by His will the *real* flesh, so also *real* sorrow." But is it not contradictory to say, that the God-man was really sorrowful? We answer to this question with St. Thomas,*)1) He could be sad and sorrowful, because, being real man, He could be subjected to all the affections and sensations of human nature, but with this difference, that these sensations were never, as in sinful man, refractory to the dictates of His reason and higher will. In the same manner, as He could feel joy, surprise and pain, He could also feel sorrow. 2) He could be sorrowful because such was His will. It was the will of His Father, to whom He was obedient into the death for our sakes; for though He enjoyed in His human soul the beatific vision in consequence of the hypostatical union, it does not follow that this vision which excludes all sorrow in the life to come, also excluded it in Christ as long as He was in the form of a servant in this mortal life, being made in the likeness of man and

*) St. Thom. S. Th. p. 3, q. 15, a. 4.

in habit found as a man,*) for because the eternal Word united to Himself the human nature for this purpose that He might redeem us by His suffering and death, he attempered the joy flowing from the divine vision, in such a manner that He did not exclude neither from the soul nor the body the affections and sensations natural to man. In this the divine vision of the human nature in Christ differs from the beatific vision of the Saints in heaven, that, whilst they enjoy it in the state of glory, He enjoyed the same in this life in the state of infirmity and trial.§) To this we may add, that the anguish of death could be even more grievous to Him than to another man, as according to the most harmonious union of His human soul with His human body, it was more revolting to His human nature, that soul and body should be violently separated. He foresaw moreover all the particulars of the approaching cruel treatment and death, by which He had, according to the will of His father, to atone for the sins of all men, of whom nevertheless He knew many would perish by their obstinacy and wilful blindness. Hence St. Jerom says: "He was not sad by fear of suffering, but on account of the wretched Judas and the scandal of the apostles and the reprobation of the Jewish nation and the ruin of Jerusalem." And St. Ambrose exclaims: "Thou art sorrowful, Oh Lord, not on account of Thy wounds, but of mine; not of Thy death, but of our infirmity."

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‡) Kenrick: "He delivered himself up to sorrow. No passion could control Him, but He was pleased to submit to human feelings, as he judged it expedient for our salvation." St. Thom. l. c., "Anima naturaliter vult uniri corpori, et istud fuit in anima Christi, quia comedit et bibit et esuriit. Ergo separatio erat contra naturale desiderium; ergo separari erat ei triste."

§) Perrone Comp. Prael. Theol. de incarn. n, 249. Cum verbum naturam humanam hunc in finem sibi copulaverit, ut patiendo moriendoque nos redimeret, gaudium ex divina visione profluens ita attemperavit, ut sive ab anima sive a corpore affectiones et passiones naturales non removeret. Hac ratione ambo haec inter se componuntur. Quae ratio cum non militet aeque pro beatis comprehensoribus, qui jam *in termino* constituti sunt, exinde patet inter illos et Christum discrimen, qui *simul comprehensor et viator extitit.*

2. "And going a little further, He fell upon His face, praying and saying: My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from Me. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou." Matth. 26, 39. To understand correctly this prayer of the Lord, the theologians remark, that in Christ are two wills, a divine and a human, and also two intellects, a divine and a human; for as in Him two natures are united in one person, each of these natures must possess its own properties, so that nothing was wanting to the divine nature in Christ, that is of God, and at the same time that the human nature in Him was endowed with all the faculties which, sin excepted, pertain to humanity. Hence also in Christ, the human will, as in another man, can be divided into two parts, of which the one is called the rational or higher (human) will, the other the sensitive will or rather sensual appetite; in consequence of this sensual will or appetite being a faculty of the human nature in Christ, it could happen, that since this inferior will longs by its own and natural motion for those things which are agreeable to the sensitive nature, and recoils from all that is contrary to the same, the divine and higher or rational human will in Christ desired such objects which the sensitive will rather abhorred. By this a certain appearance of repugnance could arise between these different wills in Christ, but never a discord, since the inferior will always was subjected to the higher will in Him.*) Hence some say, the sensual appetite in Christ was moved and directed by the divine and rational will in such a manner, that it, though following the order of its nature, remained always under the dominion of reason, obeying her perfectly in every thing. This is distinctly perceived in the prayer of the Lord.

*) St. Hilarius says, that the infirmities of Christ differed in a fourfold manner from ours; for ours are unavoidable, (coactae), deserved, they rule over us, and nothing is within us, that is not subject to them; on the contrary in Christ they were by His will (voluntarirae), they were admitted for our sakes, were tempered according to His will, and did not affect His divine, but only human nature." Perrone, comp. Th. vol. 2, p. 50

He prayed: "Let this chalice pass from Me; " and again: " Not as I will;" behold here the human, not rational but sensitive will in Christ, that recoils naturally, from the suffering and death, as contrary and dreadful to nature, yet not in a repugnant manner, but entirely submissive. And when He prayed: " But as Thou wilt," He showed His divine will, which He had in common with the Father ; and when He added: "Not My will, but Thy will be done," He manifested His higher human or rational will, perfectly consenting to the divine will.*)

3. St. Hilarius observes that some Christians, misled by a false piety, had blotted out of the gospel of St. Luke the history of the bloody sweat and of the angel, strengthening the Lord, fearing, lest the enemies of Christ might abuse it against His divinity, but there is no doubt that the passage referred to is genuine. We must rather say, that Christ, as He submitted Himself to the power of man, to be nailed to the cross, also voluntarily delivered Himself to grief in such a degree that His soul was moved by all the affections to which another human being would have been subjected in a similar situation, only excluding all that would be a moral defect or sin; for He wanted to *suffer* for the sins of man; and concerning the strengthening by the angel, we say, that for the same reason, for which He vouchsafed to be according to His human nature less than the angels, He admitted the strengthening by an angel, as far as His human nature had become weak and powerless through deadly sorrow. †)

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*) *Petavius*, (Theol. Dogm, tom. II. lib. IX. c. 6.—c. 9.) says : that the prayer of the Lord in Gethsemani is the principal passage to prove plainly the doctrine of the church on the two wills in Christ.

†) Kenrick Luc. 22, 43.

15.—CHRIST IN THE COURT OF CAIPHAS.

1. The apprehension of the Lord by His enemies, as recorded in the four gospels, offers no difficulty. Having shown once more His divine power to them, and having disowned all violent resistance on the side of His disciples, He permitted them to layhands on Him, to hold and to bind Him. They led Him away first to Annas, for he was father-in-law*) to Caiphas who was the high-priest of this year. (John, 18, 13.) This Annas is called high-priest together with Caiphas by St. Luke ch. 3, 2. "Under the high-priests Annas and Caiphas;" and again in the Act. 4, 6. St. Luke, speaking of a council of the Sanhedrim, names him first, and as it seems, the only high--priest, for thus we read: And Annas the high-priest and Caiphas, and John (Jonathas,) etc. From Jos. Fl. we know: 1) that Annas (the elder) was high-priest from 759—767. U. C. in which year he was deposed by the new procurator, Valerius Gratus. Five of his sons and one son-in-law, Ιόσηπος ὁ καὶ Καίαφας†) were within a few years his successors. He was very rich and belonged probably to the sect of the Sadducees; for those who apprehended Peter and John, (Act. 4. 2, 6,) were Sadducees, at the head of whom Annas, the high-priest, appears. 2) It was his youngest son Ananias, or as Jos. Fl. calls him, Ananus,‡) before whom St. Paul stood. (Act. 22, 1, 2.) He followed in the footsteps of his father. Jos. Fl. says: "When Festus was dead and his successor Albinus had not yet arrived, Ananus considered this a favorable time for his severity (that is, for his hatred

*) "It appears from Josephus that Annas *had* been high-priest before his son-in-law Caiphas, so that though he had resigned that office to him, yet the people paid so much regard to his experience, that they brought Jesus first to him. We do not read of any thing remarkable which passed at the house of Annas."—*Doddrige.*

†) Caiphas was high-priest *that same year.* The high priest's commission was during life; but there were now, such frequent changes, that it was become almost an *annual* office.—*Jenkins.*

‡) This Ananus is expressly called a Sadducee by Jos. Fl.

against the Christians); he appointed a court and ordered them to summon James, the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, and some others with him, to charge them with an accusation of having trespassed the law, and therefore to stone them.*) 3) Of Joseph Caiphas we learn from Jos. Fl., that he occupied the dignity of a high-priest during ten years.†) Comparing with the statements of Jos. Fl. that which we read in the gospels, we shall find that both authorities agree in all main points; for in the gospels we read, 1) that both, Annas and Caiphas, are called high-priests, (Luk. 3, 2,) 2) that St. John in two passages, speaking of Caiphas, adds the remark, that he was high priest during *this year*; and 3) that once (Act. 4, 2.) Annas is not only placed before Caiphas, but even he *alone* is styled "the high-priest." Hence we see, that the gospels are in accordance with Jos. Fl., 1) concerning the names of the two principal high-priests of that time; 2) concerning the disorder in regard to this dignity by the interference of the Romans; 3) that Annas, though deposed, retained great influence; 4) that he and his family, belonging to the Sadducees, were natural enemies of Christ. Yet one point in the statements of the gospel seems to require a closer examination; that is, how St. Luke could speak of two high priests at the same time. Petavius (in Doctr. temp. X, 58,) and many other writers, following herein the opinion of St. Augustin, answer, that there were really two high-priests at that time, discharging the pontifical office by turns, just as the Roman consuls used the fasces. Bloomfield thinks rather that Annas acted as the deputy of Caiphas and received the title by courtesy. Others suppose, and this seems to be the most probable opinion, that Annas, having been high-priest for a long period, retained *the title*‡) after his deposition, which proceed-

*) Jos. Fl. Arch. XX, 9. 1. 8.

†) Jos. Fl. Arch. I, 1, et 4, 3.

‡) The term "*ἀρχιερεὶς*" is used in scripture in a two-fold sense, 1) to

ing from the political power must have been odious to the Jews, and with the title some influence, the more so, as his successor in office was his own son-in-law. The remark of St. John, saying that Caiphas was the high-priest "illius anni" of that year, refers probably to the disturbed state of this dignity at that time, since after Annas in about one year's time there succeeded four high-priests one after the other.†)

2. Why was Christ first brought to Annas? Some suppose that he was properly the contriver of the measure, and therefore Christ was led to his house in the first instance, that his intructions might be received as to ulterior measures.‡) According to St. Augustin and Chrysostom, it was to gratify the wicked man by the sight of Jesus in bonds. Annas sent him directly to Caiphas without entering into any investigation; for what we read in John, 18, v. 14–24, did not occur in the presence of Annas, but of Caiphas. Yet v. 24 causes some difficulty. St. John writes: "And Annas sent Him bound to Caiphas, the high-priest;" so that it seems rather, that all that we read from v. 14–24, had taken place in the house of Annas, before Christ was sent to Caiphas. Still comparing St. John's narrative with the other gospels, it can scarcely be denied that v. 24 must be understood in another sense. The Evangelist supplies here what he had omitted to mention in v. 13; the verb of the sentence must therefore be taken in the

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denote "the pontifex, the high-priest, summus sacerdos; 2) also the princes or heads of the twenty-four sacerdotal families were called "*ἀρχιερεῖς*," cf. Matth. ch. 2, v. 4.

†) Haneberg states: "Annas was high-priest for eleven years, until 24, A. Ch. then succeeded Issmael, Eleazer, Simon, and finally Josephus Caiphas from 25—35 A. Ch. (Archaeol, p. 193.).

‡) Kenrick.—Voss: Harm. ev. l. 2, c. i. "Hoc honoris est habitum Annæ, quia foret socer Caiphæ principis sacerdotum, quem credibile est nihil sine socero agere solere, et erat ejus domus in via ut prætereunda foret euntibus ad Caipham quemadmodum ait August tract. 113, ut verisimile sit milites voluisse oculos senis pascere ejus spectaculo, quem in triumphum ducerent, ut est ap. Chrys. (Hom. 83, in Ioan.)

sense of a præterplusperfect, and therefore the whole sentence is to be translated: "And Annas *had sent* Him bound to Caiphas." This is, at least now the common interpretation of this verse.*)

3. The four Evangelists mention the denial of Peter. They all agree in the essential parts of the fact: 1) That Peter denied the Lord thrice. 2) That he became conscious of his sin by the cock's crow, and wept bitterly; but they vary a good deal concerning the special circumstances of the fact. St. Matth. says that Peter denied first, asked by a maid-servant, then again by another maid, and thirdly by those present; similar St. Mark, though it seems that according to him Peter was twice asked by the same maid. St. Luke, ch. 22, states, that Peter denied first at the question of a maid, next of a man, and thirdly again of another man. St. John agrees in regard to the first denial; but the second was according to him occasioned by more than one, and the third by the high-priest's servant, who was a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off in Gethsemani. Moreover St. Matth. relates, that Christ foretold to Peter, that he would deny Him thrice before the cock would have crowed that night; so also St. Luke and St. John. But St. Mark says that Peter denied first, and then when he went out, the cock crowed; after this he denied the Lord twice more, and the cock crew again. "And Peter remembered the word that Jesus had said to him: Before the cock crow *twice* thou wilt thrice deny Me. And he began to weep." The first difficulty concerning the persons who occasioned the denial, has been answered satisfactorily by St. Thomas, saying: Peter denied first asked by a maid-servant, then having gone out and returned again, he was asked by another maid, who, however, was not alone, but conversing with others, who also put

*) Kenrick, A. Maier, Natal. Alex. and already Suarez observes: Præteri tum illud "misit" positum est pro præterito plusquamperfecto "miserat." Disp. 35. Patritius, however supposes, that Annas lived in the same house with Caiphas. II. p. 429. Compare Matth. 14, 3. John. 6, 22. Alex. Buttman Gram. for the N. T., p. 173.

similar questions to Peter; the third time he was asked by several present, among whom the kinsman of Malchus testified that he knew him from seeing him in the garden as a follower of Jesus. On the second difficulty, the cock's crowing, we must, before all remark, that the cock crows first at midnight, and then again two or three hours before sun-rise, of which the second is commonly understood by "the cock's crowing" or "gallocinium," used to measure the time before day-break, hence St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John, who say that Peter denied thrice the Lord before the cocks crow, mean the crowing at the second time. St. Mark however specified the time of the three denials more distinctly; he places then the first denial before the first crowing about midnight, and the two other towards dawn.*) St Luke adds the touching remark: "And the Lord turning, *looked* on Peter, and Peter remembered." According to Mark 14, 66, Peter appears to have been in a different place from that where the Lord was; he was in the *court below*, that is, in the yard enclosed by the building, where a fire was lighted up. Some fathers, St. Augustin, St. Leo, etc., understand therefore the words of St. Luke not of a look by the physical eyes but by the eyes of divine mercy which turned him to penance; yet we would say, that nothing prevents us from supposing either that Christ, after having been condemned, was led out from the tribunal, or also that Peter entered it.

*) Another objection is made by some modern Jewish authors, saying that it was against the law to have any cock in Jerusalem. Maimonides de templo C. VII. 14, says: "Etiam Israelitis prohibitum est gallos alere Hierosolymis propter sacra." Others say, all cocks were especially kept away from Jerusalem at the passover. But on the other side it is certain, that also the talmud measures the nights by the cock's crow; we read of it also in Tob. 8, 11. Hence some answer to the diffiiculty, that if really there was no cock at that time in Jerusalem, the time, elsewhere known by the cock's crow, was given out by another sign, also called cock's crow. Doddrige says, one might conclude, that in spite of the custom, some cock was accidentally or by purpose left behind, perhaps in the house of Pilate, as the Romans used chickens for their auspices.

4. "And when the morning was come, all the chief-priests and ancients of the temple took counsel against Jesus, that they might put Him to death." Matth. 27, 1, Mark 16, 1.—St. Luke omitting altogether the council held at night in the house of Caiphas, speaks only of this council in the morning, (ch. 22, v. 66): "And as soon as it was day, the ancients of the people, and the chief-priests and scribes came together, and they brought Him into their council," proposing then to Him the same questions which, according to St. Matth. and St. Mark, had been proposed at night. This discrepancy is commonly explained by saying, that the sentence pronounced at night against Christ was illegal. The assembly at night was, therefore, held for no other purpose, but to have the case prepared for a speedy decision in the morning;*) yet Schegg, Kenrick and others say, there was scarcely time to dismiss and reassemble the council, as Christ was condemned in the first council towards the morning, therefore Kenrick supposes that the two first evangelists (Matth. 27 1, and Mark 15 1,) resume the narrative of the proceedings against Christ, by stating the result of the trial which was followed by devising measures to put their sentence of death into execution, and St. Luke, omitting the details of the trial at night, speaks only of its conclusion towards morning. To observe the ordinary hours of judicial proceedings was of no importance to them in a case of capital punishment, since they had no power to execute it.

5. Whilst Jesus was brought to Pilate, Judas who had betrayed Him, was seized by despair. The narrative of this terrible incident is concluded by a reference to a prophecy of Jeremiah," Matth. 26, v. 9. "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, who saith: "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of Him that was appraised of the

*) Patritius II, p. 432.—A. Maier quotes Sanh. IV. "Judicia capitalia transigunt *interdiu* et finiunt *interdiu*, Sohar: 56, n. 2. Sessiones judicii instituendae sunt *mane*.

children of Israel, and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded me." This text, however, is not found in Jeremiah, but in Zachariah, ch. 11, 12. To solve the difficulty, some say, that St. Matthew wrote simply "the prophet," without specifying any name.*) Others maintain that the four last chapters of Zachariah were written by Jeremiah. Schegg with some others says, it would be against the doctrine of the divine inspiration to admit that Matthew really ascribed a prophecy to Jeremiah which we only find in Zachariah. Hence others say, that Matthew united two prophecies into one, of which one being of Jeremiah, the whole was ascribed to this prophet by the Evangelist. St. Augustin†) writes: "It is familiar to the Evangelists that quoting the words or testimonies of two prophets, they refer only to one, not to both of them, of which we have an example in Mark, ch. 12, where in a quotation, the first part of which is taken from Malachias, the second of Jesaias, the name of Malachias is entirely withheld, and only Jesaias mentioned. Hence, continues St. Augustin, since Jeremiah speaks of purchasing the field‡) of which Zacharias says nothing, though he prophesies of the thirty silver pieces, of which Jeremias makes no mention, Matthew ascribes the whole to Jeremias and withholds the name of Zach-

*) St. August.—"Primo noverit non omnes codices evangeliorum habere, quod per *Heremiam dictum*, sed tantum "*per prophetam.*" Yet he adds also that the more ancient manuscripts have the name of Jeremiah.

†) St. Aug. leb. 3. de consens. Evang. cap. 7, Schegg III, p. 610. Origen already says: "Suspicor aut errorem esse scripturae et pro Zacharia positum Jeremiam, aut esse aliquam secretam Jeremiae scripturam." St. Thomas refers to St. Augustin, saying: "Augustinus solvit contingere al iquando quod volens exprimere nomen unius, occurrit nomen alterius, ideo potest esse quod cum vellet scribere Zachariam, scriberet Jeremiam,"

‡) Jerem 32, v. 9, 14, 15, 43. Calmet, Natal. Alex., and others refer to Jerem 18. 1–3, and 19, 1–2.—"Jeremiah" is omitted in two manuscripts of the 12th century, in the *Syriac*, the Persian and the modern Greek versions, and in some later copies. What renders it likely that the original reading was "*by the prophet*," is that Matthew frequently omits the name of the prophet in his quotations.—*Horne.*

arias, thought his quotation is taken from both of these prophets. Moreover we may add an observation made by St. Jerom, that the testimony of the two prophets is quoted in this passage of St. Matthew according to the usual manner of quoting by the prophets and evangelists, who neglecting the order of the words, only give the sense of the prophesies referred to.

16.—CHRIST DELIVERED TO PILATE.

1. It is difficult to say how far the power of life and death was taken at that time from the Jews, considering on one side what the Jews said according to St. John, ch. 18, v. 31: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," and then on the other side the proceedings of the chief-priests and the council in stoning Stephen to death, (Act, 6, 7,) and again, what power Saul received from them for persecuting the christians unto death, (Act, 22, 4, 5) and finally, that they would have judged Paul according to their law, had not Lysias prevented them, (Acts, 24, 6). Some suppose that a distinction must be made between *sacred* and *civil* causes; in the former, they say, the Jews had at that time the power of capital punishment, which, however, had to be ratified by the Roman governor. But the civil causes or crimes, especially of sedition, tumult and high treason, were withdrawn*) from the jurisdiction of the Sanhe-

*) This power was probably withdrawn from the Jews, 760 U. C., when Archelaus was deposed and Judea put under a Roman governor. The Jewish tradition, however, gives a later date for it, about forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Chrysost., Augustin and Kuinoel interpret v. 31: "It is not lawful, etc., (according to our law) *at the festival.*" Doellinger also maintains this distinction; moreover he observes that the Jews insisted so much on Pilate pronouncing the sentence against Christ, because they wanted Him to be crucified as a political criminal; if they had condemned Him for having violated the Mosaical law, the punishment would have been death by stoning Him. Besides this, to stone Christ to death on the festival day, would have been for them a desecration of the day: to postpone the ex-

drim, the cognizance of such causes resting solely with the Roman governor of Judea. Yet it might also be that the Jews, though really deprived of *all* power of capital punishment, did not in all instances observe exactly this limitation, and that they were perhaps on the present occasion so law-abiding only on this account, that Pilate the governor, who had his residence at Cesarea, was actually present at Jerusalem during the easter-festival. This much at any rate is certain, that the limitation of the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim was the cause that Christ was delivered to Pilate. The Jews were confident that he, though he was not of a friendly disposition toward them, would act according to their designs and put Christ to death, if they would bring against Him the charge of revolt and high-treason; for it was not long before that for such, at least, supposed crimes, Pilate had mingled the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices. St. Luke, 13, 1. He was sent, as we stated above, as governor to Palestine in the year 779, U. C., and occupied this position until 789, U. C. He is blamed by the historians for having provoked the Jews frequently, and therefore the more inflamed their seditious dispositions. Thus we find him also in the proceedings against Christ, as described by St. John. When the Jews came to the Governor's hall, they would not enter, not to be defiled. Pilate, therefore, came out to them and said: "What charge do ye make against this man?" These words must have been pronounced in an offensive, sneering manner,*) as to insinuate that the whole affair will be but

ecution of the sentence until after the festival appeared to them dangerous: hence they desired that the sentence be given by Pilate and executed by pagan hands."—page 457, l. c.

*) Langen in der Theolog. Quartalschrift of Tuebingen, n. 3, 1862, offers another interpretation: he says the "*jus gladii*" was taken from the Sanhedrim since the deposition of the Archelaus; but the foregoing Roman governors were very indulgent toward the Sanhedrim, so that they commonly confirmed the sentence of this Jewish high-council, without any further investigation. But not so Pilate; he wanted to know what charge they make

a trifling annoyance. This we may conclude from the answer of the Jews, who express themselves as offiended. "If He were not a malefactor, they said, we should not have delivered Him up to you." Pilate therefore said to them: "Take Him yourselves and judge Him according to your law." The governor knowing probably something previously of Christ, thought that the charge against Him was of a religious character, and of less importance. Some interpreters suppose, that Pilate in his answer spoke ironically, or rather mocking the Jews. Yet to judge from the following, we must deny this: for as soon as Pilate heard that it was nothing less than an accusation unto death, he entered without any further objection on the investigation of the charge. "And they began to accuse Him saying: We have found this man turning our nation astray, and forbidding to pay taxes to Cesar, and saying that He is the Christ, the king." Luke, 23, 2. Pilate, however, knowing too well the Jews, perceived at once, that they had not delivered Christ as they pretended, by their zeal for Cesar, but rather by envy (Matth;) hence he went into the hall, called Jesus, and said to him: "Art Thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus answered: "Sayest thou this of thyself, or have others told it to thee of Me?" By this counter-question the true sense in which Christ was king, is prepared. "Sayest thou this of thyself? that is, takest thou Me to be a king in thy own sense, in the sense as a Roman would understand it, or in that, as others, namely the Jews, have told to thee of Me?" that is, to be the Messiah-king in the sense of the Jews?*) Pilate answered, somewhat incensed: Am I a Jew? Thy own nation and the chief-priests have delivered Thee up to me; that is, I do not speak from myself, I am not pre-occupied by any opinion, as I

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against this man. This was something new to the members of the Sanhedrim, and hence they felt offended.—l. c. p. 460, 461.

*) Some interpret the passage in a more simple manner, so that the sense would be: Is that your own suspicion or opinion, or not? Dost thou only ask me what others told thee?

am no Jew. I know nothing of Thee and Thy kingdom, but what others have told me. Jesus now showed to him, that He is evidently no king in the political sense of the word, yet that He is a king in an infinitely higher sense, a king of a kingdom that is not of this world. For this, He says, was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth. Pilate was by this answer perfectly satisfied, that Jesus was no political offender; hence he went out to the Jews and said to them: "I find no guilt in Him." But they persisted, saying: "He stireth up the people, teaching (dangerous and seditious doctrine,) throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place." The Jews, we see, insisted on the charge of a political offence, without, however, any effect on the mind of Pilate, who seeing the excitement of the Jews, to get rid of the affair without further difficulty, sent Jesus to Herod, when he heard that Jesus was from Galilee. But Herod, neither though spurning and mocking Him, found guilt in Him, and sent Him back to the Roman governor.

2. Pilate, calling together the chief-priests and the magistrates and the people, declared Christ again to be innocent, at least not guilty of death. But fearing the Jews, he thought to release Christ in such a manner that they also might be satisfied. According to St. Luke Pilate proposed first to scourge Christ and then release Him; but according to St. John he tried first a milder expedient; he said: "But ye have a custom, that I should release one to you at the passover; will you therefore that I release to you the King of the Jews?" This custom of which Pilate speaks, is nowhere mentioned or spoken of before the Roman sovereignty over Judea, hence it is most probable, that this jus gratiandi, this right of pardoning, was a concession made by the Romans who, like the Greeks, used to set culprits free on their festivals;*) yet they all cried: "Not this man, but Barrabas; now Barrabas was a robber." Pilate

*) Liv. V. 3.

yielded not at once to the fury of the Jews; he spake again, and a third time: "Why, what evil hath this man done? I find no cause of death in Him, I will chastise him and let Him go." To this earnest resistance, as St Matth. relates, Pilate was moved by another grave cause; for as he was sitting in the place of judgment, his wife sent to him, saying.: "Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered much this day in a dream on account of him." Tradition calls Pilate's wife Claudia Procula; she is said to have become a believer in Christ and is counted among the saints by the Greek church.*) Yet perceiving that he could not satisfy the fury of the Jews in this way, Pilate betook himself to the other, more cruel and unjust expedient. "Then, therefore, Pilate took Jesus and scourged Him" hoping to appease thereby the rabble. The soldiers added wanton insults to the punishment which they were ordered to inflict, repeating in the most outrageous manner the mockery and buffeting which Christ had suffered before in the court of Caiphas and of Herod. Pilate seems to have been touched when producing Christ wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment; he said to the Jews: "Behold the man." He said so, remarks Euthymius, moved by sympathy, in order that they also might feel sympathy. And when nevertheless they cried again: "Crucify Him," Pilate grows indignant; for certainly it was indignation or scorn, when he answered: "Take Him yourselves and crucify Him; for I find no guilt in Him." The relentless enemies of Jesus saw now their machinations near to be frustrated. The governor had refused already four times to do according to their will, declaring Jesus to be without guilt. Hence they changed their charge against Him; they accused Him no longer as a political offender, but as an evil-doer against the Mosaical law; they said: "We have a law, and according to the law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of

*) Cornel. a Lap. Fabr. cod. apoc. I. p. 398, Niceph. Hist. I, 30.

God," that is He is a false prophet and a blasphemer, and hence according to the law, guilty of death. But this charge against Christ made on Pilate an impression quite contrary to that which they had expected; he would not acquiesce in their sentence without further investigation, though a sacred cause did not belong to his tribunal. "When Pilate had heard this saying, he feared the more," he was alarmed, that Christ might be really what He proclaimed Himself. As the interpreters say, Pilate acted herein probably under the influence of heathen superstition, perhaps suspecting in Christ a demi-god of the mythology. Calling to mind the wonderful works of Jesus, struck with the divine tranquillity of His countenance, and, no doubt, also influenced by the message of his wife, Pilate feared to draw on himself the anger of some god, by slaying his son. He could also see that the charge of sedition was but a false pretence under which the Jews intended to carry out their evil design. Hence Pilate entered the hall again and said to Jesus: "Whence art Thou?" that is, he wished to know whether Jesus really claimed a divine origin. But Jesus gave him no answer. The question was irrelevant to the charge of sedition, which was the only one of which Pilate could take cognizance; moreover Jesus knew that Pilate was far from acknowledging divinity in Him in the true sense, and then, even the silence of Jesus was enough to warn Pilate against this proceeding. The governor became still more uneasy and troubled in his mind, as he manifested in his impatient words to Jesus: "Speakest Thou not to me? Knowest Thou not that I have the power to crucify Thee and have power to release Thee?" Jesus in His answer reminds the governor that there is a higher power above him, to which he is responsible, but more yet he who hath delivered Him to Pilate. This warning was well understood by the governor; therefore we read, ch. 19, v. 12: "And thenceforth Pilate sought to release Him." He seems to be resolved for a moment to wave all the contradictions of the Jews; but they, seeing the resolution of Pi-

late, change at once again their charge against Christ; they accuse Him of sedition against Cesar, and threaten to accuse Pilate before Cesar. By this stratagem Pilate was overborne; on account of other cruel acts he had much to fear of such an accusation; to save himself, he yielded at last, though yet reluctantly, to the demands of the Jews. He brought Jesus forth and sat down on the judgment seat, in the place that is called Lithostrotos, and in Hebrew Gabbatha.....and he said to the Jews: "Behold your king." And taking water washed his hands before the people, saying: "I am innocent of the blood of this just man; look ye to it." None of the Evangelists recorded the exact sentence of death pronounced by Pilate; some interpreters, therefore, believed that Pilate only handed Jesus over to the Jews without giving a formal sentence; but this would be against all form of a legal proceeding, and moreover, we know that not the Jews but the soldiers of Pilate executed the crucifixion. Hence we cannot doubt, that Pilate passed the sentence in the usual form, which, being very simple, was omitted by the sacred authors; it consisted commonly in the words: "Ibis ad crucem," "Thou wilt go to the cross." This seems to be confirmed by St. Luke, 23, 24, saying: And Pilate *gave sentence* (adjudicavit) that their petition should be granted.

3. It was the custom, that those who were condemned to be crucified, had to carry their own cross to the place of execution, whence we read (John, 19, 17,): "Bearing His own cross, He went forth to that place which is called Calvary, but in Hebrew Golgotha." This place was outside of Jerusalem; the word signifies the place of skull or skulls, and some say, the name originated from the fact, that being the place of execution, the skulls of criminals were strewed there; others think, the place being a moderate hill, had the form of skull. A most singular, though ancient tradition, favored by Tertullian, Origen, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustin, states, that at the same spot where Christ died, Adam had been

buried. St. Jerom rejects this tradition in his commentary to St. Matth., but he admits it in his 46 epistle, saying: "It is said that in this city (Jerusalem) yea, at this very spot Adam had lived and died, whence the place where Christ was crucified, was called Calvaria, that is, because there was buried the skull of the old man (Adam), in order that the second Adam, that is, the blood of Christ, dropping from the cross, would wash off the sins of the first Adam, lying there.*) Christ, burdened with His cross, was soon exausted of all physical strength, so that His enemies feared they should loose their victim, before their vengeance was fully sated; therefore they transferred the burden to a stranger whom they met, Simon of Cyrene. He was, as his name indicates, a Jew by descent, and probably from Cyrene in Lybia, where a large colony of Jews existed at that time. St. Mark adds, that this man was the father of Alexander and Rufus, and hence, as in the Acts ch. 19, 33, an Alexander is mentioned among the disciples of Christ, and a Rufus in the ep., to the Romans, 16. 3, it is believed that St. Mark made the said remark to indicate, that it was the father of these disciples, well known to the first Christians, who carried the cross of the Lord. St. Luke alone mentions one incident more, that occurred on the way to Calvary; among the multitude there were women who bewailed and lamented Him. (ch. 23, v. 27.) Who they were we know not.

17—THE CRUCIFIXION.

1. When they had come to Calvary, they gave Him to drink wine mingled with gall, (Matth. 27, 34) or according to St.

*) Bened. XIV. Fest. J. Ch. p. 117. No reasonable doubt can be entertained that the place which is now called and visited as the Calvary, is really the same spot where Christ was crucified; for though this place is now within the precincts of Jerusalem yet it is known that the ancient Jerusalem was differently situated from the present.

Mark, mingled with myrrh. The Greek term, used by St. Matth. is explained of wormwood which was mixed with the wine to correct its acidity. St. Aug., Beda and others think, that the portion offered to Christ, was mixed of both, of wormwood and myrrh. It was usually given to persons about to endure a painful death, in order to render them less sensible to their torments. Christ tasted it, but He would not drink it, for He would not accept this slight alleviation of His sufferings.*) It was a Roman custom that to a culprit an inscription was fixed from his neck or carried before him, showing forth his crime. Hence it is probable that the same was done with Christ, the more so as the four Evangelists speak of the inscription, placed over His head on the cross. Here we have a most striking instance showing that the Evangelists did not always give the very words but rather the true sense of a sentence to which they refer. St. Matth. gives this inscription in the words: "This is Jesus King of the Jews." St. Mark only: "King of the Jews." St. Luke: "This is the King of the Jews." St. John seems to have given the exact words of the inscription; he writes: "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." It was written in three languages, in Hebrew, or rather Aramaic, being the language of the country, in Greek, because many of the Jews living in the Diaspora, who came to the festival, commonly called Hellenists, used this language; in Latin, being the language of the law that overruled Judea. Pilate shows himself vexed against the Jews. He would not change the inscription according to their demand, answering: "What I have written, I have written."

2. The Jews had not the punishment of the crucifixion; the Romans used it especially for the slaves, and sometimes for free-born men of a low condition, if they were convicted of an atrocious crime. Hence St. Augustin says: "There was among all kinds of death none baser, than this." They had

*) Kenrick ad h. l.

two different forms of the cross, one called "*commissa*," having the form of a "T" the other called *immissa*, having the cross-beam exceeded by the other. Tertullian maintains, that the cross of Christ was of the first form; yet the common opinion is against; as the inscription expressly is said to have been put above the head, there was at least some elevation required over the transverse beam. The crosses used on such occasions, were generally not very high, the feet of the sufferer being only about three feet from the ground. The body was sustained by a piece of wood on which he sat or rode, and the hands were nailed or tied to the extremities of the transverse piece of wood. Whether there was also a suppedaneum applied, that is, a piece of wood, on which the feet rested, being tied or nailed to it, is doubtful.*) From St. John ch. 20, v. 25, 27, is properly inferred that Christ was not tied but nailed to the cross. The four Evangelists mention that the garments of Christ were divided among the soldiers. St. John's statement is the exactest; he says: "The soldiers, therefore, when they had crucified Him, took his garments, and they made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also His coat (tunic or inner garment.). Now the coat was without seams, woven from the top throughout. They said then one to another: Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be, that the Scripture may be fulfilled.....ch. 19, 23, 24.†)

3.) It is stated by the gospels that Christ spoke seven times on the cross. The *first* words were His prayer for his enemies. And Jesus said: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they are doing." St. Luke, ch. 23, 24. They were partly ignorant, though their ignorance was "affectata," which does not excuse them, yet detracts somewhat from the grievousness of the crime; they were blindened by their passion.

*) Gretser. lib. I. de cruce, c. 24.

†) Haec tunica inconsutilis etiam num asservari dicitur Augustae Treviorum camque ab Helena Constantini matre dono datam ferunt Agricio Episcopo qui illam in sua condidit Cathedrali.—Benedict. XIV. l. c. n. 282.

In a similar sense St. Peter says, Act. 3. 17: "And now, brethren, I know that ye did it through ignorance, as also your rulers." The *second* words Christ spoke to one of the thieves, crucified with Him, saying: "Verily, I say to you, this day thou shalt be with Me in paradise," St. Luke, ch. 22, v. 43. Here we meet a discrepancy of some importance. St. Matth. and St. Mark relate that not only one robber, but that "*the robbers* also reproached him in like manner." St. Jerom and St. Chrysostom suppose that at the beginning both of them blasphemed. St. Ambrosa concurs in this conjecture, but St. Augustin *) shows that the plural number is oftentimes used in Scripture, describing the act committed only by one person, when such an act is only mentioned shortly in passing by, without entering into the details, thus ascribing to more persons per syllepsin what strictly speaking is only the act of one person. Origen remarks, that the words: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise," have been blotted out by some simple-minded men, thinking, that they cannot agree with that which we know of Christ's soul descending to the bosom of Abraham or the limbo of the fathers. Hesychius of Jerusalem proposed to place a comma after "to-day," hodie, connecting it with the foregoing, namely, "I say to-day, thou shalt be with Me in paradise." Justin thought, by "paradise" is to be understood the terrestrial, whence Adam has been expelled. St. Augustin justly distinguishes between the celestial paradise, and that abode where the soul of Christ was to be this day, that is, the place wherein the just reposed. *Paradisus*, probably an Armenian or Persian word,†) denotes in its first material sense a garden, an orchard, pleasure-ground or park. It was

*) St. August. lib. 3. de consensu Evang.

†) It is more probably a *Persian* word and means originally "a rampart of earth or stones, and then every space surrounded by a rampart; therefore also a garden, park or pleasure-ground, because such places were commonly surrounded by ramparts." "*Ewald* Jahrbuecher der Biblichen Wissenschf., Jahrg. 5, p. 163.

used by the Jews to signify the "sinus Abrahae" (Luke 16, 23.) because this part of the inferior world or Hades, understood by "sinus abrahae," was a place of anticipated joy. St. Thomas says: "gandium magnum erat in limbo patrum de gloria sperata (S. Th. III. quaest. 32, a. 5.)" There was great joy in the limbo of the fathers, on account of the glory hoped for.*)—In the *third* place we have to put the words by which Jesus declared His tender love to His blessed mother, ordering that she might love John as her son, and John honor her as a mother. "Woman, behold thy son;" and "Behold thy mother." The *fourth* time He opened His mouth, when He cried out with a loud voice, saying: "Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani." This was supernatural, as the voice of the dying is naturally extremely feeble, especially after great suffering and exhaustion. Kenrick remarks: "This vehement appeal was intended to awake our attention to the cause of the mysterious abandonment of Christ to His enemies. The Father so far forsook Him as to leave Him in their hands, to be tormented and put to death."..... This was not an expression of despair, since it was followed by the resignation of His soul into the hands of His Father, but in order that the reality and the depth of His sufferings may be known. Estius says: He intended to show that His human nature was by so many and great pains surrounded that it received no consolation from the divine nature to which it was united in one person, for Christ wanted to feel the bitterest pains, as a mere man could have felt. Some say, Christ indicated by this exclamation that all which was foretold of His sufferings in ps. 21, was now really fulfilled. The *fifth* word of the dying Saviour was when he said: "I thirst." St. John 10, 28. And a sponge full of vinegar upon hyssop was offered to Him. The passage which was fulfilled hereby, we have in ps. 68, v. 22. "They gave me gall for my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." The *sixth* word He

*) Koerber, Die Katholische Lehre von der Hœllenfahrt Jesu Christi.

spoke when having taken the vinegar he said: "It is consummated" that is, the work assigned to Him by the Father. The *seventh* and last word was according to the three first gospels: "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit." He pronounced this crying with a loud voice, which at the moment of death was in striking contrast with the ordinary weakness in the moment of death. According to St. Mark and St. Luke this crying out of the dying Saviour made such an impression upon the centurion who stood over against Him and seeing that crying out in this manner He had expired, said: Verily this man was the Son of God. St. Mathew differs somewhat, ascribing this exclamation of the centurion to the earthquake; but who does not see that the centurion could be affected by both, the exclamation of the dying Saviour and the earthquake, and that therefore one of the Evangelists supplies the other.*)

18.—THE MIRACLES ACCOMPANYING THE DEATH OF CHRIST—HIS BURIAL AND THE HOUR OF HIS DEATH.

1. In the three first Gospels we read almost in the very same words: "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth, until the ninth hour." It is an old controversy how the expression, "over the whole earth," must be understood; the Greek term, used by the Evangelists, means both, earth and land, country. In the first centuries it was taken in the full sense of the whole earth, as we infer from Tertullian, who says that "at noon the day was withdrawn—and you have, he adds speaking to the Romans, this event of

*) Some give to this centurion the name of Longinus of whom they say, that he embraced the Christian faith and gained the crown of martyrdom. (Metaph. Bolland, 18 Mart.) The Latin church, however, commemorates a soldier Longinus who pierced the side of the Saviour, as we find it in the Roman Martyrol. Mart. 16: Caesareae in Cappadocia, S. Longini, qui latus Domini lancea perforasse dicitur.

the world in your archives."*) Julius Africanus refers to a certain Thallus, and Eusebius quotes Phlegon of Tralles, a chronicler of the second century, who records a most intense obscuration of the sun at the 202 Olympiade, being accompanied by an earth-quake at the sixth hour of the day. Also Origen speaks of this passage of Phlegon, yet adds the remark, that it is doubtful, whether Phlegon speaks of a natural eclipse or a miraculous obscuration of the sun. Some of the modern chronologists say, that the eclipse, of which Phlegon speaks, occurred on the 24th of November in the year 29 after Christ, and hence it cannot be identical with the one of which the gospels speak. Another passage which has been referred to, is extant in the Acts of the martyr Lucian (312,); he says to the Pagans: "Consult your annals, and you will find, that at the time of Pilate, when Christ suffered, at midday the sun was driven off (fugatum) and the day interrupted."*) Still also this passage, though referring to the annals and consequently giving strong historical testimony for the occurrence of an extrordinary obscuration of the sun at the death of Christ, does not decide the question concerning its extention. Hence this point remains doubtful; but what we know with certainty, is first that such an obscuration of the sun took place; and secondly that it was contrary to the laws of nature, for a natural eclipse of the sun was impossible since the passover was celebrated at full moon. St. Jerom considers it to have been foretold by the prophet Amos, ch. 8, v. 9, where we read: "And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that the sun shall go

*) Tertull Apol. c. 21. Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est....et eum mundi casum in archivis (al. in arcanis) vestris habetis.

*) "Cousulite annales vestros et invenietis Pilati temporibus, dum pateretur Christus, media die fugatum solem et interruptum diem." Schegg, III. 455,

down in the mid-day, and I will make the earth quake in the day of light.*)

2. Another prodigy, connected with the death of Christ, was the rending of the veil of the temple. "And behold the veil of the temple was rent in two, from the top even to the bottom." St. Matth. 27, 51, St. Mark. 15, 38, St. Luke, 23, 45. The tabernacle of Moses had threedifferent veils; in the temple only two were used, the third being supplied by its doors. Now which of these two veils was rent, the exterior that hid the "Sanctum," or the interior that separated the most Holy from the "Sanctum." St. Jerom understands it of the exterior veil. St. Clement Alex. and the modern authors believe, it was the interior.†) Calmet refers to the ep. to the Hebrews ch. 10, to confirm by it this opinion. The rending of the veil signifies that the shadows of the law are dispelled and the true high-priest has entered into the innermost of the temple to redeem all men from sin.‡) St. Matth. continues the passage, referred to, saying: "And the earth quaked and the rocks were rent and the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints, who had slept, arose." An earthquake without peculiar circumstances, is certainly no miracle; but that it took place just at the very moment, when Christ died on the cross, makes it a prodigy. The stupendous fissures still remain in the rocks on Calvary.§) Considering the words following, we learn first that the *opening* of the graves was in connection with the death of Christ, secondly

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*) Huet in his Demonst. Evang. prop, 3, writes: "Adrian Gresson remarks in his history of China, that at the very same time an extraordinary obscuration of the sun has been observed in those distant regions, and that the emperor Confutius was much alarmed by it." Bened. XIV, l. c, 304.

†) This was sixty feet long and extremely thick. 2 Paral. 3, 14.

‡) There is still another interpretation of this prodigy; the rending of a garment was the symbol of horror and detestation, and execration. Hence by this rending of the veil may have been indicated that the temple be henceforth desecrated." Shegg, 462.

§) Kenrick, Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. 13, v. 39, "δεικνύων (ὁ γολγοθᾶς), μέχρι νῦν, ὅπως διὰ Χριστὸν αἱ πέτραι τότε ἐρράγησαν.

that the *appearing* of the saints followed the resurrection of Christ; the time, however, when *they rose*, coming out of the tombs, is not defined, neither the manner in which their rising was effected, nor the qualities of the bodies in which they rose.*) Some authorities of great weight, Origen, St. Jerom, and St. Thomas suppose that these saints rose in a glorified body and entered with soul and body into heaven with Christ, anticipating in a similar manner, as the blessed Virgin, the universal ressurrection. Still others think, that such a privilege was only granted to the immaculate Mother of God, and consequently that the reunion of the souls and bodies of these saints was only temporary, perhaps for the forty days of Christ's delay on earth after His resurrection, after which, deposing their bodies again, their souls only entered with the Redeemer into the glory of heaven.

3. St. John writes ch. 19, v. 31: "Then the Jews, because it was the parasceve of the sabbath, that the bodies might not remain upon the cross on the sabbath—for that was a great sabbath-day—besought Pilate, that their legs might be broken, and that they might be taken away. v. 33. But after they had come to Jesus, when they saw that He was already dead, they did not break His legs. v. 34. But one of the soldiers with a spear opened His side, and immediately there came out blood and water." St. John adds also, that he speaks as an eye-witness. Such who were crucified, remained frequently living the whole night, sometimes also the next day, yea it is even stated that cases occurred when the death did not take place before the third day.†) At Rome the corpses, at least of slaves, remained on the cross, until they decayed, and the same was probably observed by the Romans in the provinces. The Jews,

*) Kenrick says: "The bodies were reanimated; the graves were thrown open at the death of Christ, but the dead arose only after His resurrection, since He is the first born of the dead.

†). A. Maier, referring to Petron. Sat. c. 11, 1. 112. Justin. Hist. 12, 7.

however, were forbidden by law (Deut. 21, 23) to let the body of any one who was hanged or, what they considered to be the same, crucified, upon the tree after sunset, lest the land should be defiled. In the present case they had the more to observe this, as the following day was the great sabbath, that is, the sabbath of the paschal octave. Hence they besought Pilate, that their legs might be broken. With the breaking of the legs (crurifragium) was probably joined a coup-de-grace, as the breaking of the legs did not necessarily produce death, but was rather used as a supplement for the shortened time of suffering. This coup-de-grace was, as it seems, applied to Jesus, when one of the soldiers opened with a spear His side. Whether it was the right or left side, is not said by the Evangelist; since Bede's time it is the common tradition, that it was the right side. Still if the soldier, standing in the front of the cross, struck with the right hand, it would be more natural to think, that it was the left. The flow of blood and water was doubtless preternatural, and symbolical of the sacraments, as the fathers observe.*) Lymph resembling water with blood might flow from the pericardium after death. Modern writers justly remark, that St. John states expressly this incident as an argument against the Doketists, who denied the physical reality of the body of Christ. We may add, that any doubt, whether Christ was really dead, when taken from the cross, must be removed by such a mercy-stroke.

4. It affords some relief to the reader of the history of the passion of Christ, having witnessed so much baseness or weakness of those concerned in it, to read: "And after these things Joseph of Arimathea, because he was a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might

*) Bened. XIV. l. c. says: "De aqua et sanguine qui fluxit ex latere Christi, Clemens V. in Vienensi concilio pronuntiavit, non vivo, sed mortuo Christo latus esse perfossum indeque sanguinem cum aqua fluxisse. Innocentius III definivit, non inde *phlegma*, sed veram effluxisse aquam, patrumque omnium consensu *miraculo* tribuitur."

take away the body of Jesus. And Pilate gave leave." St. John, ch. 19, v. 38.) St. Mark says: (ch. 15, v. 43,) "Joseph of Arimathea, a noble councillor, who was also himself looking for the kingdom of God, came and went in *boldly* to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus." St. Luke characterizes him more, saying: "And behold there was a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, (that is, a member of the Sanhedrim) a good and just man; the same had not consented to their council and deeds, of Arimathea, a city of Judea, who also himself looked for the kingdom of God. This man went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus." St. John adds: "And Nicodemus, he who at the first came to Jesus at night, came also, bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred pounds." They took therefore the body of Jesus and bound it in linen cloths with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury, (v. 40, 41.) Sin being expiated, the contumely towards the Redeemer begins to change into honor and glory.

5. Concerning the day on which Christ died, it may be remarked, that according to the ancient and constant tradition, as it is first stated by Tertullian, and again repeated by St. Augustin and St. Chrysostom, it was the twenty-fifth of March, the same day on which He was conceived by the immaculate Virgin. Henschenius assures us, that besides the printed martyrologies he saw in different libraries of Europe twenty-four manuscripts of martyrologies which all of them place the day of the death of Christ on the 25th of March. There is moreover, as Benedict XIV. witnesses, extant to this day the Paschal canon of the martyr Hippolyte, bishop of Porto, engraved in a marble plate, of the year 222 A. Ch., which was found in Agro Verano 1551, and is now preserved in the Vatican library; in this canon we read: "On the eighth before the calends of April is the passion of Christ." Roger Baco who asserted that Christ died on the third day of April, was accused of error for this opinion, and Tostatus, entertaining a

similar opinion, was compelled to withdraw it as being erroneous.

6. Lastly we have to meet the grievious difficulty about the hour of the day, at which Christ was crucified and died. St. Mark says (ch. 15 v. 15): "And it was the third hour, and they crucified Him." And again, v. 33: "And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole earth, until the ninth hour." St. Matth. ch. 27, v. 45, agrees with this saying: "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth, until the ninth hour, and about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying: "Eli, Eli," etc. But St. John seems to contradict most positively both of them, for in ch. 19, v. 14 we read: "And it was the parasceve of the passover, about the *sixth* hour, and he (Pilate) saith to the Jews: "Behold your King." Some manuscripts of great antiquity*) have indeed a different reading; they have "about the *third* hour." Still by far the greater number of the manuscripts and the most reliable of them have the reading of the received text wherefore among the modern critics Patritius stands nearly alone, asserting that the text of St. John, as it is extant, has been occasioned by a mistake of the copyists, having miswritten stigma, in uncial writing like *F* (denoting 6) for *Γ*, (gama, denoting 3). He thinks there is no other way to solve the difficulty;†) and certainly, the common solution of it, by re-

*) The Codex Cantabrigiensis, also called Beza's Codex, of the fifth or sixth century, marked by the letter "D;" then the manuscripts L. X. of the eight or tenth century, moreover the Codices 72, 88, 123, 151, have the reading "the third hour;" but in Codex D it is a correction of the original text by a later hand. The Chronic. Alex. has the same reading, referring to exact manuscripts and especially to one preserved at Ephesus said to be the autograph of St. John.

†) Patrit. coment. II. 434. The same he says in a later commentary to St. John: "Quo hanc difficultatem removeas una duntaxat neque alia praeter hanc via patet ut dicamus librariorum errore in alterutro evangelio notas *Γ* et *F* alteram cum altera esse commutatas. p. 218.

ferring to a division of the day into four parts, the prime, tierce, sexta and nona, so that, since the sexta follows after the tierce, an event which took place at the tierce, could be called also to have occurred *about* the sexta, this solution, we say, seems not satisfactory. But by the learned L. Hug another explanation has been tried, which obtained the approbation of the modern critics. Hug says, St. John uses the Roman division of the day-time, beginning the day at midnight, so that the sixth hour was after sunrise, whilst St. Mark and St. Matth. count the hours according to the customs of the Jews from the rising of the sun. He proves from Josephus Fl., that both ways of counting the hours were used by the Jews. St. John, in accordance with the other evangelists, states ch. 18, 28: "Then they led Jesus from Caiphas to the hall of the governor. And it was *morning*," in Greek Πρωΐ which signifies the fourth watch of the night, lasting from three o'clock (as we say) after midnight until day-break. It was consequently very early, perhaps about five o'clock in the morning, when Jesus was brought the first time to Pilate. The reason for such an early transaction of the trial was, no doubt, the approaching easter-sabbath. Moreover it is quite visible in the proceeding, as described by the Evangelists, that all was hurried on. Pilate struggled to get rid as quickly as possible of a case, that caused so much disturbance on a festival day, on which great crowds were present in Jerusalem. The Jews pressed on fearing, lest their wicked design might be frustrated by any delay. The leading of Christ to Herod, and back again could neither take much time. Hence all which we read of the trial of Christ before Pilate, could be finished before seven o'clock in the morning, that is, *about* the sixth hour. The necessary preparation for the execution of the sentence, perhaps the more so, as two criminals were sentenced to suffer death at the same time with the innocent Lamb of God, and the leading out through the streets of Jerusalem to mount Calvary could well take two hours more, so that it was,

as St. Mark says, the third hour, according to the Hebrew calculation, or the ninth hour of the morning, when they crucified Him. Christ had suffered, according to this explanation, already three hours on the cross, when at the sixth hour there was darkness over the whole earth, and as He suffered according to St. Matth., after the darkness, three hours longer, until the ninth hour, according to the Jewish counting of the hours, or until three o'clock in the afternoon, it follows, that the whole time during which Christ suffered on the cross for the sins of the world, comprises not less than six hours.*) We beg the reader to compare carefully for himself the four gospels, and we trust that this exposition will appear to him perfectly justified.

5. "The next day, which followed the day of preparation," that is, on the sabbath, the chief-priests and the Pharisees came together to Pilate, in order to have the sepulchre guarded, and having obtained their request, they sealed the stone of the sepulchre and set the guards. Some think, this took place already on friday evening, as the sabbath commenced with sun-set; †) still, considering the words of the Evangelist, the most obvious sense of them seems to be against such an interpretation. Hence, we understand by the "next day," the morning of the next day, when the relentless enemies of Christ, remembering the circulating report of His foretold resurrection, placed the guard at the sepulchre. When doing so, they doubtless examined it to be sure that the body was there; hence the corroboration of Christ's resurrection by this precaution remains the same, though as we understand it, this was done a day after the burial.

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*) A. Maier, l. c. Schegg, l. c.

†) Kenrick. Matth., 27, 62.

19.—THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

1. "At the end of the Sabbath, when it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, some pious women went to the grave, to embalm the body," not having had an opportunity to do it before the burial, as it was commonly done, on account of the haste of the same. The first difficulty in comparing the four gospels on the glorious part of the history of our Savior, concerns the time when these pious women went to the grave. St. Matth. gives it in the foregoing terms. St. Mark says: "And when the sabbath was past,.....they brought sweet spices, ...and very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came to the sepulchre, the sun being now risen." St. Luke: "And on the first day of the week, very early in the morning..... and St. John: "And on the first day of the week,.....when it was yet dark." St. Augustin says, that all the different expressions signify the same hour; for when the day begins to dawn, there remains yet some darkness, which is dispelled successively by degrees, the light increasing. Others say that the time when they started and the time when they came to the grave, must be distinguished. St. Mark seems to make such a distinction.

2. On the day of the resurrection, five apparitions of Christ are mentioned in the gospels. The first was made to Magdalen, at the sepulchre; the second to the women, returning from the grave; the third to Peter, the fourth to the disciples going to Emaus, and the fifth to the apostles and others, assembled in Jerusalem, Thomas being absent. Besides these apparitions, mentioned in the gospels, it is an ancient tradition,*) that Christ appeared first of all to his blessed Mother. Though Estius is much opposed to those who say, that there occurred an apparition before the one made to Magdalen, since

*) St. Ambros, leb. 3 de Virginibus. "Vidit Maria (Virgo) resurrectionem Domini et prima vidit et credidit." Baronius ad ann. 34, § 183.

it is called expressly the first by St. Mark; nevertheless we subscribe with Baronius to the stated tradition, saying, that the apparition made to Magdalen, is the first of those mentioned in the gospels, but not absolutely the first of all.

3. There is another discrepancy between St. Matth. and St. Mark, on one side, and St. Luke and St. John, on the other, in regard to the angels that appeared to the women. The two first Evangelists mention only one, and the two others speak of two. The common answer to this is, that St. Matth. and St. Mark do by no means contradict the other gospels, as they do not say, that it was *only* one, but they are not so exact in regard to the detail, confining themselves to record an angelic apparition, and what was said to the women on the occasion. A greater difficulty exists concerning the two first apparitions in general, between the synoptic gospels and St. John; for the former relate, that Mary Magdalen and some other women, after they were come to the sepulchre, found the stone rolled away, and an angel appeared to them, announcing the resurrection of Christ. But St. John states that Mary Magdalen, when she had seen the stone removed, ran back to Peter and John and told them: "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him," which, of course, she would not have said if she had seen the angel at the grave. But may it not be that when Mary Magdalen came to the grave and entered it with the other women, they saw at first no angel? She, seeing the grave empty, ran in great haste back to the apostles, whilst the other women remained in or about the sepulchre where they saw at last two angels by whom they received the command to announce the resurrection to the disciples: then they left the place in great haste. In the meantime Peter and John came to the grave and Mary Magdalen with them. The apostles entered the grave, but saw nothing and returned. Magdalen, full of love and desire, lingered weeping about the sacred spot; and when she stooped down and looked again into

the sepulchre, she saw two angels in white, who said: Why art thou weeping? Then turning herself, she saw the Lord, but recognized Him not, until He said: "Mary." This was the first apparition of the Lord, risen from the dead. St. Mark, 16, 9. After this, the Lord appeared to the other women, returning home by another way than Peter and John came, so that they did not meet them. Matth., 28, 9. We know there remains still some discrepancy unsolved, especially comparing the narrative of St. Luke; for according to him one might think that Mary Magdalen went back with the other women to the disciples; for having mentioned the apparition of the angels, he continues: "And it was Mary Magdalen and Joanna and Mary the mother of James, and the others with them, who told these things to the apostles. And these words seemed to them as idle tales; and they did not believe them. But Peter rising up ran to the sepulchre, and stooping down he saw the linen clothes lying by themselves, and he returned, wondering in himself at what had happened." But who does not see that St. Luke's principal intention is to show how tardy the apostles were to believe the fact of the resurrection. This is confirmed by that which the two disciples going to Emmaus said, namely: "Yea, and certain women also of our company amazed us, who before it was light were at the sepulchre. And not finding His body, came, saying that they had also seen a vision of angels, who say that He is alive. And some of our people went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said; but *Him they found not.*" St. Luke, therefore, by his narrative, seems to intend to convey the impression to the reader, that the apostles did not believe, until they saw the Lord Himself.

4. The third apparition, made to St. Peter, is mentioned by Luke ch. 24, 34, and again by St. Paul in the 1st ep., to the Corinth. ch. 15, 5. The fourth is shortly stated by St. Mark, ch. 16, 12, saying: "And after that He appeared in a different form, to two of them walking, as they were going into the

country. And they going, told it to the rest." St. Luke describes the same in a minute detail in ch. 24. The fifth is again recorded by St. Luke ch. 24, and by St. John ch. 20, also probably by St. Mark ch. 16, v. 14. For whilst the two disciples, who had returned from Emmaus, told what things occurred in the way and how they knew Him in the breaking of bread, Jesus stood in the midst of them and shows them not only His hands and feet, but also eats in their presence, to convince them that He is in all reality before them. On this occasion the Sacrament of penance was instituted. Remarkable it is that St. Luke and St. Mark, as it appears, connect immediately with this apparition the ascension of the Lord. St. Matthew also mentions only one apparition of those, that were made to the apostles, and not that which took place in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection, but another one afterwards in Galilee, without mentioning at all the ascension, still adding a similar command of the Lord to the apostles, as we read in St. Mark and St. Luke, immediately as one might think before the ascension.*) By this we may see, how the Evangelists connected sometimes events, distant in time, without indicating this distance.

5. St. John adds to the foregoing apparitions two more; one of them took place at Jerusalem eight days after the resurrection, converting the unbelief of St. Thomas, (St. John ch. 20,) the other occurred in Galilee, and is related at large by St. John in ch. 21. In v. 14, the remark is added: "This is now the third time, that Jesus was manifested to His disciples after He was risen from the dead." This we may understand in a twofold manner, either that we take the expression "the third time," in the sence of "the third day," on which He appeared, namely on the day of the resurection, then eight days after, and now on this occasion in Galilee; or that it was the third apparition to the principal apostles, and the greater number of

*) See further on below n. 6, note 6.

them, as at one apparation all apostles were present, except Thomas, at the other all of them without exception, and at the third at least seven of them; for thus we read ch. 21, v. 2: "There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas who is called Didymus and Nathaniel who was of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, John and James, and two others of His disciples."*) In Matth. ch, 26, v. 32, Christ foretelling His death and resurrection, added the promise: "But after I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee." The same was repeated by the angels at the sepulchre. To this that which we read of His apparition at Jerusalem and in Emmaus, is no contradiction; for it was not said, that He would not appear at any other place;†) still it seems that Galilee was the place appointed for an apparition not only to the apostles but to His disciples in general, which seems confirmed by the following apparition.

6. St. Matth. relates ch. 28, v. 16. "And the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had appointed to them. And seeing Him, they adored; but some doubted." St. Paul mentions in the first ep. to the Corinth., 15, 6: "Then was He seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep." This apparition is considered by the interpreters to be identical with the foregoing, or if not, it most probably took place also in Galilee. There is one apparition more mentioned by St. Paul, different from all the foregoing; in the chapter referred to he writes: "After that He was seen by James." From the Act. ch. 1, v. 3, we may conclude, that not all apparitions of the risen Saviour are recorded in the Scripture. The last time He appeared on the day of His ascension. (Act. 1.) The apostles had returned from Galilee

*) Kenrick to St. John 21, 14.

†) St. Ambros: "Non est promissi transgressio, sed potius festinata ex benignitate impletio."

to Jerusalem, probably by the command of the Lord; when they were at table, He appeared, and eating with them, He commanded them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father, that is, the Holy Ghost," (Act. 1.) and then, as we read, (Luke, ch. 24,) He led them out as far as Bethania, or what is the same, to the mount Olivet,*) (Act. 1) at the foot of which Bethania is situated, and lifting up His hands, He blessed them; and it came to pass, whilst He blessed them, He departed from them, and He was carried up to heaven, and a cloud received Him out of their sight. If the ancient tradition must be believed, that Christ died on the twenty-fifth of March, it was then the fifth of May, when He returned gloriously to the Father. It is an ancient tradition, testified up to the times of St. Jerom and St. Augustin, that He impressed His footsteps at the sacred spot of His ascension. To the present day on mount Olivet, a stone is shown, in which a footstep, three fingers deep, is perceived. Whatever may be the truth of this tradition, we fall down and kiss in spirit all the footsteps which He, the King of eternal glory, has made in this vale of tears for our sakes.

*) *Tischendorf* in his "Aus dem heiligen Lande," denies that the two statements "as far as Bethania" and "to the mount Olivet," can be understood as identical; moreover he says: the remark in the Acts of the Ap. ch. 1, v. 12, that the distance from Jerusalem was a sabbath day's journey, agrees well with mount Olivet, but not with Bethania. Hence he considers the clause, (Luke 24, 31,) "And He was carried up to Heaven," to be an addition, though of a very ancient date. The Codex Sinaiticus, the manuscript D. of Cambridge, and five Latin documents, together with St. Augustin, are against the genuineness of said passage. In the 7th edition of his text, the same author rejects also the last verses of the gospel of St. Mark, and comes to the conclusion that the ascension of the Lord is only mentioned in the Acts, but in none of the gospels. p. 307.

PART II.

THE TRUTHFULNESS OF THE GOSPELS CORROBORATED; THE CORRECTNESS AND INSPIRED CHARACTER OF THE SACRED TEXT.

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I.—*The Historical Credibility of the Gospels Corroborated by Profane History.*

1. We have not neglected to mark out in our foregoing discussions, the principal points by which the sacred history is linked to the profane history, both of the Roman empire and of the Jewish nation. We had therefore occasion to speak of two emperors, of Augustus and Tiberius, and of two Roman procurators, Quirinus and Pilatus. We saw that the dates and facts, which are stated in the gospels of these historical personages, are not contradicted, but rather confirmed by documents of the Roman history. The same we may say in regard to the political history of the Jews. Herod, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, Philipus, the high-priests, Annas and Caiphas, are not only represented by profane history in accordance with the gospels to have been at that time when Augustus and Tiberius occupied

the imperial power, the rulers of the Jewish nation, but they are also characterized by the profane historian in a similar light, as we perceive it in the short notices contained in the gospels. To show this still more, and to confirm hereby the evangelical history, we think it will not be out of place to add here a short synopsis of the political history of the Jews at the time of Christ. The historian of the Jews is Josephus, surnamed Flavius.*) He was born at Jerusalem about 37 A. Ch.; his father, Matthias, was a Jewish Priest: in his nineteenth year he joined the party of the Pharisees. In the year 63 A. Ch., in his twenty-sixth year, he went to Rome to assist some Jewish priests, who were sent in chains thither by the Roman procurator, Felix. Having succeeded in his design, he returned to Jerusalem, where he was elected by the Sanhedrim as Praetor of Galilee. At the beginning of the Jewish war against the Romans he was commander of the Jewish army. Having shown great courage in defending his position against Vespasian, he became at last by treason the captive of the Romans, but gained the favor of Vespasian, from whom, to express his gratitude, he accepted the surname "Flavius." At the siege of Jerusalem and its destruction he was present on the side of the Romans, and endeavored to persuade the zealots to surrender the city, that the temple might be preserved. After the awful catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem, he went to Rome, where, engaging the favor of the emperor and his sons, he spent the rest of his life in his literary labors. We have from him: 1) a history of the Jewish war; 2) the Jewish Antiquities; 3) two books against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria; 4) a treatise on the "Self-governing Reason"; 5) a short Autobiography.†)

*) Some say: Flavius Josephus; others, Josephus Flavius.

†) The reason that there is no other historian besides Josephus who gives testimony for the history of the Gospels, is simply this, that there is no other historian of the Jews known. Philo was no historian, and lived in Egypt, not in Palestine. The Greek and Roman Historians, as Strabo complains of

2. From this historian we know that the Hasmonean dynasty, by which the Jewish nation had recovered its independency from any foreign sway, soon degenerated. Judas Aristobulus (106 before Christ,) the grand-son of Simon, the Macchabean, was a real monster of a tyrant. His brother, Alexander Jannaeus (105—78) was not much better; he was the fiercest enemy of the Pharisees, but on his death-bed he advised his wife, Alexandra, to get reconciled to this powerful party. Alexandra ruled after him from 78–69. After her death (69) the two sons of Jannaeus and Alexandra, Aristobulus and Hyrkanus (III) contended, one against the other, for succession in power. Hyrkanus, by nature of a mild disposition, would have been satisfied with the office of high-priest, ceding the throne to his brother; yea, he even showed himself willing to give up also the priestly office for the sake of peace; but he was instigated by *Antipater*, the procurator of Idumea, to resist by a fratricidal war. Thus it came that the Romans, already in possession of Syria, found an occasion to interfere. Pompeius decided (63) in favor of Hyrkanus, who consequently became the ruler of the Jews, with the title of an ethnarch, yet depending on the Romans. Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, were sent to Rome; but one of them, Alexander, escaped on the way thither, and took up arms against Hyrkanus, his uncle, who, asking again the protection of the Roman

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in his geography, (III, 116,) were without any exact knowledge of the history of the oriental nations in general, and especially of the Jews, being so much despised and hated by them. Hence it is not surprising that Christ, who came in no direct contact with the occidental nations, is scarcely ever mentioned by their historians of that age. There existed, however, one historical document of Christ, of high importance in the first centuries, namely, the Acts of Pilate on Jesus, sent by the governor to the emperor Tiberius. St. Justin M., Tertullian, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Orosius and others refer to this document with full confidence, in their controversies with the pagans, whence we may safely conclude that it was genuine; but these Acts were lost afterwards, for those preserved under the same title seem to be suppositions. Scholz. Einleitung in d. hl. Sch. B. I, p. 697.

pro-consul Gabinius of Syria, lost nearly all political power. J. Cesar restored to him, some time afterwards his former dignity, but under the condition that he accepted the Idumean Antipater as procurator (47) for the political administration of the country. This Antipater usurped soon all power, and appointed by himself his two sons, Phasael and *Herod*, the first at Jerusalem and the second in Galilee, as procurators. At that time Aristobulus, and his younger son Antigonus escaped from their captivity in Rome, and having returned to Judea, renewed the war against Hyrkanus; but Gabinius, the Roman pro-consul of Syria, defeated and sent them again to Rome. Two years after, (41) Phasael and Herod were confirmed Tetrarchs of Judea by the Roman Triumvir Antonius. Antigonus, however, succeeded, by the assistance of the Parthians to recover for a short time the throne of his ancestors; but Herod, supported by the Romans, besieged and took Jerusalem, 37 bef. Ch. Antigonus, *the last of the Hasmonean dynasty*, was put to death publicly at Antioch like a criminal, and Herod assumed, with the approbation of the Roman Senate, the title of King of Judea. The power which he had obtained by his crafty submission to the Romans, he maintained by cruelty. All the adherents of Antigonus, and especially the members of the Sanhedrim, only two excepted, were put to death. Hyrcanus, whose procurator Antipater, Herod's father had been, was invited to come to Jerusalem from Babylon, whither he had retired during the civil war, but soon he was also killed. Mariamne, his own wife, suspected by him, since she was of the family of the Hasmoneans, was likewise put to death, with her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus. His own brother, Pheroras, and Antipater, another son by his wife Doris, experienced the same fate. The people was oppressed by a heavy taxation and public works which he undertook. In the 18th year of his reign, about 15 or 16 years before the birth of Christ, in order to reconcile the much exasperated people somewhat, he commenced to renovate or rather rebuild the temple;

but nearly at the same time he built also a magnificent temple to Apollo at Rhodus. Though he was circumcised and observed apparently the Mosaical law, he made no difficulty about sacrificing to the Roman gods, being at Rome. Whilst he was a tyrant against all under his sway, he became always more dependent on the Romans. In the cruel proceedings against his own children he was restrained by the Roman emperor Augustus, and when he died, his will was subjected to the confirmation of the same emperor.

3. After his death, Augustus hesitated for a while to confirm his last disposition concerning the succession of his three sons, of whom he designed Archelaus to be his successor in Judea, Herod Antipas in Galilee and Perea, and Philippu in the other parts of his kingdom. Archelaus found it necessary to come to Rome; but at the same time a deputation of fifty Jews appeared before the emperor, to beseech him for the grant of a free administration, that is, without any ruler from the family of Herod. Augustus refused, therefore, to give to Archelaus the title of a King, as his father had, but sent him back as an ethnarch of Judea, Idumea and Samaria. In the year 759 U. C., the Jews renewing their charges against him, he was deposed and sent into exile to Vienne in Gaul. Judea and Samaria were united with the province of Syria, which was administrated at that time by Quirinus, a man of high reputation according to Tacitus*) and Josephus Fl.†) He took up another census in Judea, on which occasion Josephus mentions, that before this another description had been made. The taxation, connected with this census, took place without great difficulty;‡) yet nevertheless the Roman tax-gatherers, introduced about this time, were universally hated by the peo-

*) Tacit. Ann. III, c. 1.

†) Jos. Fl. Antiq. XVIII, 1, 1.

‡) Jos. Fl. Antiq. XVIII, 1, 1. He remarks that this second census passed off quietly, whilst on a former occasion the very *name* of a census caused great excitement.

ple; the collection of tolls and taxes was considered to be a cursed business. With Quirinus, the procurator of Syria, had arrived at the same time Coponius to be the special procurator of Judea, yet subordinate to the first. This Coponius was succeeded by Marcus Ambivius, then by Annius Rufus, Valerius Gratus, and finally *Pontius Pilatus*. Even the high-priests were entirely dependent on these governors: they were appointed and deposed according to their will. Pontius Pilate administrated Judea for ten years, during which period frequent disturbances occurred, because this governor had not always the proper regard for the religion of the Jews.

4. Whilst Judea with Samaria was under the direct administration of the Romans, Galilee, Perea and the other parts of the holy land continued to be under the two other sons of Herod, namely Herod Antipas and Philippus. The first was married to the daughter of the Arabian King Aretas, but when he was in Rome, he conceived a passion for Herodias, the wife of another son of Herod, called Herod Philippus*) who lived there as a private man. This woman was ready to follow him, under the condition, that he dismisses his former wife, the daughter of Aretas. This caused a war with the Arabian King which lasted several years. Josephus Fl. mentions also John the Baptist and his execution.†) The best, or at least the most quiet of the sons of Herod seems to have been Philippus II, the tetrarch of Batanea and Iturea. He is only once mentioned in the gospel, namely in the 3d chapter of St. Luke; his usual residence was probably in Cesarea Philippi at the foot of the Libanon and in Bethsaida (Julias) on the north eastern shore of the lake Genesareth. He died in the 37th year of his reign, in the last of Tiberius, after Herod Antipas had been also sent to Gaul into exile, like his brother Archelaus.

*) This Philippus is, therefore, not the tetrarch of Batanea.

†) Antiq. XVIII, c. 5. 2. He remarks that when Herod suffered a defeat in this war against Aretas, the people considered it to be a just punishment of God for having put to death John, called the Baptist.

5. Two sects or parties, called the Pharisees and Sadducees, play a great part in the history of the Jews at the time of Christ. Everybody knows how frequently the gospels speak of them, especially of the first. The Pharisees are thoroughly characterized in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew. Profane history speaks of them in a similar way. The origin of these parties dates back to the time even before the war of the Macchabeans against the enemies of the Jewish religion. To preserve the law and to impress it deeply in the heart of the nation, there were schools erected, not long after the Babylonish captivity, for this purpose through the whole country; they were not strictly of a public character, but private undertakings, yet the Sanhedrim took them under its protection and control; from this august assembly the permission to teach or to erect a school had to be obtained, and the teachers, if the soundness of their doctrine was doubted, had to give an account of it before the high council. It was natural that these teachers under such a control, being tied together by the same interest, grew up in a short time to a large party or community within the nation. Still, as it seems, soon a great division between them followed; one part as it is stated, misinterpreted a sentence of *Simon the Just* who was at the head of the Sanhedrim from 291—260 before Christ, in such a manner that they denied the immortality of the soul, and resurrection of the body, also the existence of angels, the divine providence and all higher influence on the will of man.*) Moreover they rejected all traditions and as it is said by St. Jerom, all the holy books, except the pentateuch.†) Confining in this manner the human existence to

*) Jos. Fl. Bell. Jud. 2. 18 24. "Providentiam omnino negant ac ponunt Deum extra agendum aliquid malum vel non agendum; dicunt in hominum arbitrio positum esse et bonum et malum, et accedere ad alterutrum juxta scientiam cuique datam."

†) The last point is denied by A. Maier and others, saying that St. Jerom was erroneously led to such a supposition by the refutation of the Sadducees from a passage of the Pentateuch in Matt. 22. 23. See also Scholtz. Theologie des A. B. p. 93.

this present life, the followers of this doctrine entertained Epicurean principles of morals, and showed a great carelessness, if in sacred offices, in the observation of the ceremonies; as judges, they were merciless, and as scholars, extremely disputatious. The adherents of this party were never very numerous, but consisted principally of the rich and higher class of the Jews, wherefore they succeeded sometimes in becoming members of the Sanhedrim and even to have the Jewish high-priest taken from among them.*) Towards the end of the Jewish commonwealth they were excluded from the nation,†) as, indeed, they had well deserved. They were called *Sadducees*, either from one of the founders of this doctrine or from the Hebrew word Zadik, just, boasting, as the unbelievers of all ages, with their outside justice. Opposed to these scribes were the orthodox teachers of the people who were named *Pharisees.*‡) They cannot be properly called a religious *sect*, for they did not deviate from the common religious belief of the people, but they formed a caste of expounders of the law according to principles by which, whilst the dead letter of the law was most carefully preserved, the spirit of it was entirely extinguished. By the tradition they made, as they themselves used to say, a *fence* around the law, to protect it. According to two great masters, Schamai and Hillel, they were more or less rigorous in their opinions; the followers of Hillel were the milder. Haughtiness, hypocrisy and ambition were their principal vices, following from their position among the people. They expected most ardently the Messiah, but one who would interpret the law, as they did, and establish it in its full power, restoring at the same time again the political independency of the na-

*) Jos. Fl. ant iq. XIII. 20, 6, XVIII .1 3, XX, 9. 2. 8, 8. *act. apost.* ch. 23, 6.

†) A. Maier. Encycl. der Kathol. Theologie.

‡) There are different explanations of the word Pharisee; some interpret it as "expounders of the law;" others as "seperated, selected from the common people."

tion. Besides these two parties we find a third one mentioned in profane history, the Essenes or Esseans. Scripture never mentions them; the cause of it is certainly nothing else, than that the adherents of this set led a retired life, partly in Judea on the west side of the Dead sea, partly in Egypt on the Mareotic lake near Alexandria.*) Hence they seem never to have come in any contact neither with Christ, nor with the Apostles afterwards, and therefore they are never spoken of in the New Testament. Concluding these short historical remarks, we think it proper to refer also to the much disputed passage in the Antiquities of Josephus,†) where he speaks of Jesus of Nazareth, calling him a wise man, who performed many miraculous works, and was a teacher of such as were inclined to hear the truth; who gained many followers among the Jews and Gentiles; who was the Messiah, and though he was crucified by Pilate, was not deserted by those who had loved Him from the beginning. On the third day He appeared to them again, as it was foretold by the prophets. This passage has been quoted from Jos. Fl., first, as we know, by Eusebius in two of his works, in his Historia eccl. I, 11, and again in his Demonstratio evangel. III, 5; after him we find it again refered to by St. Jerom, Sozomenus, Isidor of Pelusium.‡) Its genuineness was not called into question before the end of the sixteenth century; the first who did so were H. Gilfanius and L. Osiander, followed afterwards by other critics. The prin-

*) Some say that the sect living on the east side in Perea and Nabatea, was different from the Essenes; they were called Ossenes or Osseans. According to Doellinger, the Essenes differed again from the Therapeutes: the first attended to agriculture, and lived, though in a separate manner, among other people, whilst the latter retired into the solitude and, neglecting the practical life, gave themselves entirely up to a peculiar, as it seems, Pythagorean ascetism—Doellinger Heidenth. Judenth, p. 759.

†) Jos. Fl. Antiq. XVIII, 3, 3.

‡) To these writers we may add St. Ambrose, "de excid. urbis Hieros. II Rufinus. hist. eccl. III, 11. Suidas Lexic. sub voce Josepos. Nicephorus hist. eccl. I, 39. Cedrenus, Zonoras.

cipal reasons against the passage are: 1) That no ecclesiastical writer before Eusebius ever used this passage. On the contrary Origen, c. Cels. I, p. 23, speaking of Josephus expressly says, that he did not believe in Jesus as Christ. 2) That the passage interrupts somewhat the connection of the text, where it is inserted. 3) That only a christian could speak in such terms of Jesus. But the passage has found also many defenders up to this very day: They say1) all manuscripts, dating back to the time of Eusebius, contain these sentences. 2) The number of the Christians at the time of Josephus was already too large for him to be entirely silent on them, which would be the fact, if the disputed passages were not genuine. 3) It is not credible, that Josephus, who speaks of John the Baptist, and of James the Minor, should not even mention the name of Jesus. 4) The passage could be written by one who did not believe in Jesus, if we understand it in that sense, that Josephus speaks as an historian, not giving his opinion, but shortly stating the principal facts of the life of Jesus, as they were believed by the christians. This much we can expect of Josephus, since he was by no means a rigorous Jew, but much inclined to an electicism in religion.*) Other critics however, as Olshausen, Gieseler, etc., think, that the passage, genuine in its substance, has been enlarged by the christian copyists; they reduce it to the following sentences: "At the same time was Jesus, a wise man, a performer of extraordinary works, and He drew after Him many followers, both of the Jews and the Gentiles. And though by the envy of our chiefmen Pilate had condemned Him to the cross, those who loved Him from the beginning, persevered; to this day those who are called christians from Him, continue to exist." Yet

*) A. Scholz, referring to Heinichen excurs. I, ad Euseb. hist. eccl., to Bochmert de testim. Fl. Josephi, Lips. 1823., T. M. Strettenberg de testim. de Jesu Ch. Fl. Joseph. dissert. Lundae 1824, says, that the passage in Fl. Josephus has been called in question without a just reason—Einleitung in d. hl. Sch. B. I, p. 696.

whatsoever may be the value of this passage, it will not in the main lessen the confirmation, that the historical credibility of the gospel receives by the testimony of Josephus. We see that the political situation of the Jews and the character of those in power at that time, as described by this historian, agree perfectly with what we read in the gospels; we have therefore a part of the statements of the sacred writers, corroborated by a witness who is in every way perfectly independent from the former.*)

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II.—*The most reliable Text of the Gospels.*

1. Having shown the authenticity and historical credibility of the four gospels, considering them in the whole, we must now enter on a question in near connection with the foregoing. As the gospels do not only contain facts of the most extraordinary kind, but also the most sublime doctrine which is the object of the christian faith, it is of paramount importance to know how it stands with the *original* text of these documents in all their parts. Have we yet in our printed testaments the very same text, as it came from the hands of the inspired writers? Has during so many centuries nothing been changed and spoiled, so that we can rely on the wording of the text to draw safe conclusions from it in all points of doctrine? This is a very difficult, intricate question in all its details, but we hope, without dwelling too long on this subject, to make it pos-

†) There are some other special facts corroborated by Fl. Josephus which are in a near connection with the history of the gospels, as they are related in the Acts of the Apostles, written by St. Luke. f. ex. the tragic death of Agrippa, the famine under the emperor Claudius, the rebellion of Theudas, Judas Gaulonites and a certain Egyptian Jew under Lysias, the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius—Scholz, l. c. p. 697.

sible to the reader, to judge for himself which of the various texts extant is the most correct and reliable.

2.) We cannot expect that the autographs of the sacred writers have been preserved to this time; this could have been scarcely possible without a miracle; and for this there was no necessity. They were, as the critics think, not written on parchment, but on Egyptian paper, fabricated at that time of an Egyptian reed or bulrush, which was not of a very durable quality*;) they were frequently copied, and also sent for this purpose to other places. Add to this the persecution of the christians in the first centuries by which also these sacred documents were exposed to many injuries and accidents, and you will find it not surprising that the original autographs seem to have disappeared already in the middle of the third century. The last notice of their existence is probably given by Tertullian towards the end of the second century; he refers the heretics, who objected that the sacred text has been corrupted by the Jewish christians, to the original writings, as they are read in the apostolical churches; "Go, he says, to the apostolical churches.....where the *authentical writings* of them (the apostles,) are recited, sounding the voice and representing the countenance of each of them†)" We know,

*) Whether the use of parchment or of Egyptian paper is more ancient, is uncertain; at the time of Augustus the latter was much more used, principally because it was much cheaper and more easily obtained, than parchment. There were different sorts of this paper, the *ἱερατικὴ* used by the Egyptian priests for their religious writings, the Augusta, Livia, Claudia, Fania etc. At the time of Augustus not the first, but the other, less durable sorts were used. (Strabo, Plin. H. N, 13, 12, 24.) In the N. T. the *paper* is twice mentioned 2. Ioan. 12, and 3 Joan. 13; the parchment once. (2 Tim. 4 13,). Constantin M. ordered at once 50 copies of the Scriptures on parchment; from this time it seems, that parchment came again more into use. Among all the ancient manuscripts of the Scripture extant is only one of Egyptian paper, from the 7th or 8th century, consisting in four leaves of the gospels. A. Maier, p. 49.

†) Percurre Ecclesias apostolicas apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae apostolorum suis locis praesidentur, apud quas *ipsae authenticae litterae* eorum

some critics understand the words "litterae authenticae" of the Greek text, opposite to the translations, not of the autographs opposite to the copies. But to get the Greek text in a copy, it was not necessary to go to the apostolical churches; such could be had in every place at that time. Moreover the word "authenticae" means in the ancient language of the law the original in the strict sense, opposite to a copy of it; and no one will doubt, that Tertullian in the work referred to, uses the language and terms of the law; also that he added "*ipsae* authenticae" indicates that he will have it understood in the strictest sense. Hence we agree with H. Grotius, saying, that according to Tertullian the very "architypa" of some books were still extant at his time.*) But after the time of Tertullian no further reliable notice of the autographs has been left by antiquity; for what is said of the autograph of St. Mark, preserved partly in Venice, partly in Prague, is without any foundation, as we showed above; and the statement of the Chronicon Alex., that there was still in the beginning of the fourth century an autograph of St. John preserved at Ephesus, likewise as the tradition, that the church of Constantinople was in possession of a gospel of St. Matthew, written by the hand of St. Barnabas, in whose grave it was found, is not sufficiently testified. Moreover we know, that already in the third century the differences of the Greek text in the different manuscripts were felt very much by Origen and his cotemporaries; the remedy for this evil would have been very easy, if the autographs had still been known.

3. It may be surprising, that as we remarked, already in the third century, many different readings had crept into the Greek

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recitantur, sonantes vocem et representantes faciem uniuscuiusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia: habes *Corinthum*; si non longe es a Macedonia, habes *Philippos*, habes *Thessalonicenses*, etc., De Praescript. haer c. 36, Conf. contra Marc. IV· 5."

‡) H. Grot: aliquorum librorum ipsa architypa suo adhuc tempore ait (Tertullianus) extitisse." De Verit. relig. Christ. lib. III.

text; but if we ask for the cause of it, we shall find it quite natural; for besides the unavoidable mistakes of the transcribers, as we find them also in the manuscripts of other works of antiquity, there was the peculiarity of the language in which the sacred documents are written, This language is the Greek, but, we may say, only in the outside, in the wording; the construction and connection of the words and sentences are according to the genius of the Hebrew; consequently the language of the N. T. is full of Hebraisms, solecisms, anomalies and irregular constructions; the Greek copyists could be very easily induced sometimes perhaps unconsciously, to smooth the original roughness of the language, or, as the Greek had different perfectly developed dialects, to conform it more to their own dialect,*) or also to add at the margin some glosses for making the text clearer, but which afterwards were confused with the text itself. Such corrections, once being commenced, increased in a rapid progression, as we may justly suppose, that copies were multiplied at these times day by day. Concerning the gospels in particular, St. Jerom remarks, that a great many errors came in the manuscripts by this, that if one evangelist mentioned something more, than the other, this was added by the readers or copyists also to the other, or if one of the Evangelists seemed to be at variance with the other, that they believed, according to the one, the others had to be corrected. Thus it happened, he concludes, that now all things are mixed up, and in Mark several parts are found that are of Luke and Matthew, and in the others again such things, which belong not to themselves.†)

4. Hence it is so, as we said, that in the third century a revision of the sacred text seemed to be of urgent necessity.

*) This is certainly the fact in manuscripts, written at Alexandria, where the fuller Macedonic dialect was spoken.

†) Unde accidit, ut apud nos mixta sint omnia et in Marco plura Lucae et Matthaei, et in ceteris reliquorum quae aliis propria sunt, inveniantur. Hierom. ep. ad Damas.

Origen undertook to revise the text of the Septuagint for the Old Testament in his Hexapla and Tetrapla, but he was afraid to lay his hand on the text of the N. T. in a similar manner, on account of the great opposition he might find in doing so,‡) and also the difficulty of the work itself. The manuscripts, called after Origen, which St. Jerom esteems so highly, that their readings are to him a decided authority,§) offer, therefore, not a revised but only a more correct text, because they were copied and completed under the eyes of Origen. These manuscripts were preserved, like the Hexapla, in the renowned library of St. Pamphilus at Cesarea in Palestine. But what Origen refrained to do, two other learned men soon after him undertook, Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch (312) and Hesychius, an Egyptian bishop, of about the same time; both revised first the text of the Septuagint, and then having obtained in this the approbation of their contemporaries, dared also to undertake a revision of the text of the N. T.; but St. Jerom†) and with him the occidental or Latin church did not approve of these revisions; he says, "that by the translations, made before their corrections, it is evident, that what they have added is false."*) A council of Rome in the year 494 A. Ch. declared even "the gospels, which *falsified* Lucian, to be "apocrypha;" and in like manner the gospels, revised by Hesychius.†) Hence according to the judgment of St. Jerom and the Lat-

‡) Orrig. Comment. in Matth. tom. XV, n. 14. "In exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi."

§) St. Jerom. coment. in Matth. 24, 36, "In quibusdam codicibus latinis additum est *neque Filius;* quum in graecis et maxime *Adamantii* (Origenis) et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeat adscriptum. Id. in Gal. "Legitur in quibusdam codicibus "*quis vos fascinavit non credere veritati.*" Sed hoc quia in *Adamantii* exemplaribus non habetur, omisimus. (Origen was called on account of his eminent learning and talents vir *adamantinus* et *aeneus*, a man of diamond and brass.).

*) "Hieronym. ad Damas: Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio.

†) Quibus (Luc. et Hesych.) nec profuit in Novo Test. emendasse cum multarum gentium scriptura antea translata doceat *falsa* esse *quae addita sunt.*—l. c.

in church in general, the manuscripts, more ancient than those of Lucian and Hesychius, offered a more genuine text, especially if copied from the manuscripts of Origen. St. Jerom therefore, when charged by Pope Damasus to revise the Latin translation, compared these *ancient* Greek codices with the Latin manuscripts.*) The critics of now-a-days, as we shall see further on, after many aberrations and illusions, came at last to the conclusion, that St. Jerom was right, rejecting these revised texts, especially of Lucian; for it cannot be denied, that the text of Lucian contains many unmistakable amplifications and grammatical corrections of the original, more simple and less grammatical text; fewer innovations seem to have been made in the revision of Hesychius. Still, in the Oriental churches the view of St. Jerom remained without influence. Alexandria and Egypt adopted the revised text of Hesychius, Antioch and Constantinople the text of Lucian; yea, by the authority of St. Chrysostom, who followed in his homilies the text of Lucian, the same was, after a short time in the Greek church of Asia, received in all manuscripts. In this manner originated the three so-called families of manuscripts,†) the Alexandrian, the Asiatic, that is, of Antioch and Constantinopolis, and between both of them the "codices Palestini," which, as St. Jerom says, Eusebius and Pamphilus published as the elaborations of Origen. But it seems that either the difference between the Palestine Codices and the Alexandrian manuscripts cannot be distinctly marked out, or that scarcely any of the Palestine manuscripts has been preserved. L. Hug believes that the uncial-manuscripts K., M. for the whole N. T. and Codex A. for the gospels give the text of Palestine. Still other critics distinguish only the Alexandrian and Asiatic families.

*) Hier. ad Dam: "Haec praefatiuncula pollicetur quatuor tantum Evangelia.... Codicum Graecorum emendata collatione, sed *veterum*."

†) St. Hieronym, adv, Ruf. l. II, c. 36, Mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos Codices legunt quos ab Origene elaboratos, Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.

5. Alexandria in Egypt was at that time the principal place, where the traffic in manuscripts flourished. They were considered the best written, and being critically correct; therefore they were highly esteemed and sold at a high price.*) But the

*) A short notice of the principal manuscripts extant will not be out of place. The most ancient, written before the period of stichometry are :

1) Codex A. Alexandrinus, in the British museum ; of the Alexandrian family, from the middle of the 5th century.

2) Codex B. Vaticanus, in the library of the Vatican ; likewise from Egypt, by some dated back to the beginning of the 4th century.

3) Codex C., also called *Ephrem rescriptus*, a palimpsest, in the library of Paris ; probably from the time between C. B. and C. A; also of Egyptian origin; its text is next to that of Cod. B.

4) Cod. Sinaiticus, lately discovered by C. Tischendorf ; considered to be the most ancient, or at least as old as Cod. B; again of Egyptian origin.

5) Cod. Z. Dublinensis rescriptus, only containing the gospel of St. Matthew; in time after Cod. C. and of the same origin.

6) Smaller fragments of this period are Cod. Borgianus (T) ascribed to the 4th century. Cod. Guelferbytanus P. and Guelferb. Q., ascribed to the 6th century, all of Egyptian origin.—Of the period when the stichometry was introduced, are :

1). Cod. Cantabrig. D., Graeco-latinus, containing the four gospels and the Acts ; also called Codex Bezae; ascribed to the 6th century; its text is the Alexandrian, yet with some peculiarities, very near to the Vulgate.

2). Cod Claromoanus D. containing the epistles of St. Paul, considered by some to be the second part of the foregoing; its text seems to be a copy of a manuscript before St. Jerom.

3). Cod. Sangermanensis E., probably a faithful copy of the foregoing.

4). Cod. E. also Cod. Laudianus, containing the Acts of the Ap., from the 7th century.

5.) Cod. F. Augiensis, once at Reichenau, now at Cambridge, containing also only the Ep. of St. Paul ; a copy of an ancient text, made in the 9th century.

6). Cod. G., or Boernerianus, containing 13 epistles of St. Paul, a copy of an ancient text probably before St. Jerom.—The Codices D E F G are called the *Latini* by Tischendorf, probably written in Western Europe, therefore being Greek and Latin.

7). Cod. H. Coislinianus CCII, from the mount Athos, probably from the 6th century, compared, as a postscript says, with the manuscripts of Cesarea in Palestine, containing fragments of 5 ep. of St. Paul.

After the period of the stichometry, having already the punctuation, are

patriarchal see of Alexandria lost much of its authority already in the fifth century and declined in the same degree, as the see of Constantinopolis gained in importance. In the seventh century Egypt was over-run by the Mahometans, Alexandria taken and its library burned bye ommand of the Chalif Omar 641 A. Ch. This is probably the cause, that the number of Alexandrian manuscripts which are yet preserved, is rather small in comparison with the Asiatic manuscripts, the number of which begins to increase with the seventh century. Of the 700 manuscripts of the N. T., preserved to this day, of which, however only, a few contain all the books of the N, T., are about 23 uncial codices, and fifty with small letters belonging to the Alexandrian family; all the others are of the Asiatic family, of which are only eight with uncial letters, whereby we see, that the latter are mostly of a later date, since the cursive-writing with small letters was later introduced.

6. Even before Alexandria had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, the Greek language which was in the first centuries very commonly known in Rome and the southern parts of Italy and Gaul, had ceased to be cultivated. The Greek manuscripts were, therefore, soon forgotten, in western Europe, and lay buried in the libraries. The Latin version, especially the corrected text of St. Jerom, after some resistance, was alone from this time copied and multiplied in the occident. Thus it went on until the end of the fifteenth century. By the overthrow of the Greek empire (1453) the fugitive Grecks brought along with them to western Europe great treasures of Greek books, and among them a large number of manuscripts of the Scripture. Greek literature was soon revived in Italy and other countries. The art of printing having been invented in the

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1) Cod. K. from the 8th or 9th century. 2) Cod. L. from the 9th cent. 3) Cod. M. from the 10th cent. 4) C. N, O. O. and C. R., are short fragments. 5) C. S. Vatic. from the 10th cent. 6) Cod. V. from the 9th. 7) Cod. X. Cod. Sangall. and three of Moscow.—All these are *uncial* Codices.

same century, many of the ancient manuscripts were printed, especially the classics, the works of the fathers, and soon also Latin and German Bibles. In the year 1488 appeared the first edition of a Hebrew Bible; last of all, the Greek text of the N. T. was published by the press. The celebrated Spanish minister and bishop of Toledo, Cardinal Ximenes commenced 1502 to collect manuscripts and called the most learned men he could find, to Alcala (Complutum) to publish the Old and N. T. in the original languages. For the Old Testament he bought manuscripts for heavy sums; for the N. T. he got some codices from the Vatican library; one, which belonged to himself, called "Codex Rhodiensis," has since that time been lost. The N. T. was printed 1514, the whole Scripture 1517, but it was not published before 1520, with the approbation of the holy See. At the same time D. Erasmus of Rotterdam, procured a Greek edition for the book-seller Frobenius of Bale; but he had no good manuscripts,*) all of a late date, in the whole only five which he could compare. The first print of it appeared 1516, dedicated to Pope Leo X; in the second edition (1519) he corrected not less than 300 passages, of his first edition; in the fourth edition (1527), was also the text of the "Biblia Complutensia," (of Ximenes) compared; a fifth edition appeared 1535, again with some changes. After these editions of Bale and Alcala followed many others, that were merely a re-print of one or the other text of the foregoing editions. Simon de Colines composed of the two texts one, selecting from each of them what he considered to be preferable. Robert Etienne (Stephanus,) a scholar and printer of Paris, compared sixteen manuscripts of the royal library of Paris to procure a new edition; but nevertheless, in his first (1546) and second edition he followed the text of Alcala; in the third (1550) he preferred to follow the

*) For the Apocalypse, Erasmus had only one manuscript, that of Reuchlin, in which were wanting the last six verses, wherefore he supplied this defect by translating these verses from the Latin into Greek. His manuscript for the gospels was of the 15th century.

fifth edition of Erasmus, adding a collection of different readings from the Codices of the royal library; the fourth edition (1551) obtained some celebrity by dividing the text into verses, which division has been retained to this day. After R. Etienne, followed Theodor Beza, who, in his two first editions, only republished the text of R. Etienne, adding some more different readings. In the mean time he came in posession of two manuscripts, the Codex Cantabrigiensis and Claromontanus; moreover he could compare the Syrian translation called Peschito and some Arabian; hence he was enabled to correct the former text in many passages, yet he changed also frequently without necessity. He published this reformed text first 1582, and it was many times reprinted afterwards. In the seventeenth century, speculating book-sellers of Leyden in Holland, the Brothers Elzevire, succeeded in acquiring, as it were, a monopoly for their edition of the Greek Testament; they published the third edition of R. Etienne, corrected in 100 passages from the edition of Beza, and in some other passages by an unknown critic after unknown authorities; and as this edition was made up in a neat duodecimo volume, they had such a success, that they were daring enough to declare the text of their second edition to be the "*textus receptus*," the text received by all;*) and really, what was asserted with the greatest impudence by speculators, was believed by the world; it was to the shame of the learned world, the textus receptus until the end of the 18th century. It is true, John Fell, the learned bishop of Oxford, and after his death, his friend John Mill procured 1675 an edition, having compared many manuscripts not compared before. J. Mill also thought of the necessity of investigating into the value of the manuscripts according to sound principles.†) But after all, the text of the

*) They said in the preface: "Textum ergo habes ab omnibus receptum, in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus."

†) The age of the manuscripts is made out by the following criteria: 1) whether they are written all with large (uncial) letters, or in cu

Elzevires remained in possession of the field.

7. By "Brian Walton," in his London Polyglot and by Mill, some of the best Alexandrian manuscripts were compared; in consequence of this the number of different readings increased to an alarming extent. Mill added to his edition of the text of R. Etienne, more than 30,000 different readings. It had the appearance, as if the Greek text would dissolve itself into a chaos of confusion. The Greek original, of which the Protestants had boasted so much against the Catholics with their Latin Vulgate, was in a lamentable state. A protestant theologian of Wurtemberg, I. A. Bengel, moved by scruples of faith in the Bible by this confusion, examined first carefully the 30,000 different readings, collected by M. Mill; then he compared thirty manuscripts, not investigated before, and moreover the Latin translations, the Vulgate and the Itala, and two oriental versions, the Coptic and the Armenian. In this manner he came at last to the fact, that there are two principal sources from which all the manuscripts are derived, and consequently he divided them into the Asiatic and Alexandrian fam-

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the second are all of a later date, but not all uncial manuscripts are of a high age. 2) Whether the letters are written in a continuous series without any division of them into words or sentences, having therefore no punctuation at all, or any other interruption of the lines; if so, then they are dated back before the *fifth* century. 3) Whether they are written in a *stichometrical* manner, so that every line contains only as many words as easily could be pronounced by the reader in one breath; and therefore no line fills up the whole space (as we write verses). This manner of writing the Codices was introduced by Euthalias of Alex. in the year 462, first for the epistles of St. Paul, and afterwards for the gospels, to make easier the correct reading of them in the churches. 4) Since by this manner of writing a good deal of space was lost, we find in the seventh century, that the lines were filled up again, but the "*stichoi*" that is the number of words to be read in one breathing, were seperated by points or other signs; punctuated manuscripts are, therefore, to be placed in and after the 7th century, except that perhaps the points are not original, but appear to be added later by a second hand. 5) The more perfect the punctuation of a manuscript is, the later is its origin; in the tenth century in some instances the single words were distinguished by points. A. Maier, p. 504.

ilies, of which he gave the preference to the Alexandrian codices, together with the Latin Vulgate. In the year 1734, one century after the second edition of the "Elzevires," he dared at last to publish a different text, the result of his indefatigable researches. Yet he was much opposed for this innovation, so that J. J. Wetstein, who continued the researches of Bengel in the same direction, in order to avoid the suspicion of heterodoxy before his protestant brethren, saw himself compelled to give in his edition again the text of the "Elzevires,"*) adding only in the notes the result of his researches. J. Griesbach followed in the footsteps of Bengel and Wetstein; he denied the authority of the so called "textus receptus," or any other printed text, and procured an edition in which he took the "textus receptus," but changed and corrected it as he found it necessary according to his critical researches. His first edition appeared 1774; it was much improved by another, printed in 1796. A third edition of the same text was procured by D. Schulze, Lips. 1827.

8. Still even the corrected text of Griesbach would not satisfy a later critic, Charles Lachmann; he thinks, that Griesbach and the other critics before him allowed too much influence to their own conjectures and subjective views in correcting the text. To approach with more certainty to the really original text, the safest way according to him would be, to recover from the documents preserved, the most ancient. Hence he, at last, gave entirely up the so-called "textus receptus," and compared for obtaining the desired text only the most ancient manuscripts, eleven in number, all of which are either of the Alexandrian family, or perhaps partly also deri-

*) This common text was indeed superstitiously worshipped by the protestant theologians. Abr. Calov (ob. 1650) writes: It is impious and a profane 'boldness to change even one point or to substitute a spiritus lenis for a spiritus asper. Ludw. Capellus, (1675) believed that all vowels and points or accents of the text are inspired. Hilgenf. p. 97.

ved from the "Codices Palaestinenses."*) Besides these manuscripts, he consulted the ancient Latin translations, the Itala and Vulgate, and the passages of the Scripture, as they are quoted by the fathers up to the fourth century. The result of this proceeding led to a text, which approaches much more than that of Griesbach, to the Latin translation of the Vulgate. The first edition appeared 1831, another 1842, tom. I, 1850, tom. II. Following similar principles, Const. Tischendorf published another text, in the year 1840; two years after the same critic published another edition in Paris, in which he gives a Greek text, perfectly in accordance with the Latin Vulgate.†) Some, even catholic writers, think that in doing so he went rather too far at once;‡) for he corrected the Greek text even in such passages according to the Vulgate, in which none of the manuscripts extant agrees with the Latin translation, provided that the same is supported by the reading in another ancient translation, as the Syriac, Arabian, or by a father of the first centuries. We refer here to one instance of some importance. In the 2d ep. to Timoth. ch. 3, v. 16, the Vulgate reads: Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est

*) Lachmann admitted as authority for constituting his text the manuscripts A, B, C, D, (Contabrigiens. et Claromantonus,) E, (Laudianus) G,H, and the fragments P, Q, T, and Cod. Z, (Dublinens.)

†) It was re-printed in 1849.

‡) Tischendorf himself did not consider this text to be perfect yet, but a step nearer to such a text; he says in the prooemium: "Erit autem frugis optimae, ubi primum fecerit ad studium graeci N. T. textus suscitandum, alendum, fovendum apud ipsos eos, quibus latinus textus prae ceteris commendatus et sancitus est, tum vero adjuverit atque *illustraverit versionis Vulgatae usum criticum*, denique ingenia quae et pia et strenua sunt ad novas excitaverit lucubrationes quibus ad *veritatis lucem magis magisque perveniatur*." In an audience that C. T. had of Gregory XVI. in the year 1843, when the Pope showed to him a work defending the Vulgate, he replied, that he also prefers the true text of Jerom to the Greek of R. Stephanus." Tischendorfiana. by J. E. Volbeding, Lips. 1862, p. 22. The latest edition by Tischendorf, is from the year 1858, in which he gives the further results of his researches in the principal libraries of Europe and in several Greek convents of Egypt and Asia.

ad docendum, ad arguendum.....Every scripture divinely inspired is profitable for teaching, for reproof.....The protestant translation according to the Greek so-called original, gives: "All scripture is given by inspiration of God *and* is profitable for doctrine and for reproof.....The difference in the sense is easily perceived, and is caused by the conjunction καί (*and*) of the Greek text. Tischendorf expunges this "καί" though we read it in all the manuscripts preserved, because the reading of the Vulgate is supported by Clement of Alexandria, the Syriac and first Arabian translations. This seems rather bold; but if we consider that Lachmann admits only eleven manuscripts for the restoration of the most ancient text, of which manuscripts three are only fragments, and the most ancient of them does not contain the epistles of St. Paul, and moreover, that the Latin Vulgate has been corrected by St. Jerom according to manuscripts, more ancient than any of those now extant, and more correct, as he believed, than any other of his time, we cannot deny that Tischendorf corrected similar passages not without good reasons according to the Vulgate; still, even supposing that he went too far in such corrections, this much remains as a certain result of the best protestant critics, Bengel, Griesbach, Lachman, Tischendorf,*) 1) that the Latin Vulgate is one of the authorities for the critics who endeavor to restore a Greek text, more approaching to the original text; 2) that the Vulgate comes nearer to the real original, than any other modern translation according to the so-called original Greek; 3) that the Vulgate, concerning the different readings, is not subordinate to any manuscript extant, or any printed text, but co-ordinate.†) Hence the declaration of the

*) We may add G. Campbell, Mill, Bloomfield, T. Kitto. (Kenrick, p. 26.)

†) Hence C. Tischendorf published the most ancient manuscript of the Vulgate in the year 1850. It is this the Codex Amiatinus, thus called from the convent on the Mount Amiate near Siena, now in the Laurentiana at Florence. This manuscript was written by the Abbot Servandus in the year 541, about 120 years after the death of St. Jerom. J. E Volbeding, p. 48.

Council of Trent in favor of the Vulgate, enacting "that this translation be held for authentic in public readings, disputations, preaching and exposition, and that nobody may dare or presume to reject it under any pretence whatsoever," has been perfectly justified by these protestant critics. The force of the term *authentic*, as employed by the fathers of the council, is equal to authoritative and corresponds with authorized or standard version.‖) But for the Protestants, it is time to change on the title-page of their translation the remark: "Translated out of the original Greek," and rather say, "Translated out of the Greek, as R. Stephanus, or Beza, or the booksellers Elzevire gave in their printed editions." The title as it stands now, confers a wrong impression on the reader who does not know how it stands with the so-called original Greek.

9. Yet whilst claiming full justice for the Vulgate, we do not depreciate the Greek text as such, but only the former printed editions of this text; on the contrary we thank the protestant critics, referred to, not alone, because they vindicated the Latin Vulgate, but also because they exerted themeselves so much to restore a correcter Greek text.*) The catholic interpreter

‖) Kenrick's Gospels, p. 24.

*) Of the highest importance in this regard is the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered by C. Tischendorf in the year 1859, in the convent of St. Catherine on mount Sinai. This manuscript contains besides the greatest part of the O. T. the entire N. T. and is believed to be even older than the celebrated Cod. Vaticanus, that is, dating back to the middle of the 4th century. Tischendorf thinks, that the C. S. may be even one of the fifty Codices, copied, as Eusebius relates (Vita Constant. IV, 36) by order of Constantinus M. He also observes, that the same agrees in many instances only with the C. Vaticianus, and concludes from this, that both these manuscripts must have been copied from the same original, though at different times, and probably the Sinaiticus before the Vaticanus. The question on the canonical books was not yet settled at the time, when this Codex was written, since we find among the other canonical books of the Old T. also the fourth book of Macch., and to the books of the N. T. the epistle of Barnabas, and the first part of the Pastor of Hermas, are added. It was published 1862 at Petersburg, under the auspices of the Russian emperor. The price of a copy (4 vol. fol.) is about $230.

and translator of the Scripture, though he will, after the stated results of the modern critics, the more carefully abide by the direction of the council of Trent, and take for the safe basis of his labors the text of the Vulgate, yet he would act against all reason and against the intentions of the church, by neglecting to study and compare a correct Greek text, not to follow its different readings, but to ascertain and understand more profoundly the sense of the Vulgate. The best translation will not always succeed in expressing perfectly the sense of the original, or will be deficient in giving the full, determinate idea of the author. Hence a translation or interpretation of the Vulgate, without recurring continually to the Greek text, must necessarily become shallow, indefinite and ambiguous, and not seldom entirely erroneous, putting another sense into the words of the translator, than he intended to give. Hence since the revival of the Greek letters, no catholic interpreter or translator of any name, ever neglected the study of the Scripture in the original tongues; the three first polyglots are catholic publications; and in the latest English translation of the New Testament by the learned Archbishop of Baltimore, the Greek text is never lost sight of. But this is true: as long as the Greek text is not restored, at least one as reliable as the text which St. Jerom had, the catholic interpreter will always, concerning the different readings, hold in the first place the Vulgate; and only in the second, the common Greek text; and we think, no well-informed protestant will on this account bear a grudge against him.

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III.—*The Gospels Divinely Inspired.*

1. Thus far we have given the natural evidences for the historical truthfulness of the four gospels in all their details.

We know the authors of them; they show themselves well informed and claim by their moral character an unexceptionable belief. They write in the main on the same subject; and though they appear to be quite independent in their narratives one from the other, yet they do not contradict one another. All that seems at the first view to be a contradiction, if strictly examined and compared, is reconciled without any great difficulty; perhaps in some instances we might wish to know more definitely how the statements of the one have to be exactly understood, compared with the other, but a real contradiction among them in their whole narratives cannot be shown. Though their primary and sole object was by no means to write an exact history of the life of Christ, yet they never loose themselves in the common place of generalities; no, they give facts after facts, frequently with all their peculiar circumstances; they are nowhere guilty of an anachronism; they state the years, the months, the days, and in the history of the passion of the Lord, even the hours of the day for their facts in such a manner, as was customary at their time. Also their topographical notices appear distinct and correct, as far as they go, so that one, having well studied the gospels, could, coming to the holy land, follow from place to place, all the principal movements of the Lord during His public life, without any great difficulty or mistake. The incidents, connected with the political history of the Jewish nation at that time, though there existed then many disturbances and irregularities, are amply confirmed by the Jewish historian Josephus Fl. To question, therefore, the historical reality of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, as described by the evangelists or to attempt to dissolve it into a conglomerate of myths and tales, collected from all the corners of the world, and concentrated artificially in Jesus of Nazareth, as it has been attempted in our times, must be judged and will be judged by posterity, as the greatest excess of unbelieving madness; it is as much as to deny all historical evidence, and to despair of human nature. No, the life of Je-

sus of Nazareth is an open day-light history and reality. Man may shut his eyes upon or turn them from it, and not believe; but it will not be possible to excuse his unbelief; we say not, before the judgment of God, but even before the judgment of human reason. "Thy testimonies, O Lord, are very sure." Psalm. 92, 5.

2. Moreover we have shown, that concerning the original text, of these holy books, though for a while a great disturbance prevailed, partly at least caused by the opposition against the catholic church, at last the right track has been discovered again by high-minded protestant critics; we are at present almost as near to it again, as St. Jerom was when he corrected the Vulgate, and perhaps we will come nearer yet, by the continued researches and labors of such men. Hence, also in this regard, the gospels claim our full confidence, especially if we compare, as we said, in our interpretations continually the Greek text with the ancient translations, foremost the Vulgate. Still, the gospels claim beyond all these evidences of truthfullness, yet a higher character; they claim not only to be a truthful, humanly reliable narrative of facts and doctrines, but to be the *inspired work of God*;—yet here one might say, if the gospels prove themselves to be genuine and true by the highest historical evidences, so that nobody can refuse to admit their truthfulness without denying all historical faith and consequently contradicting human reason itself, can there be any need or utility of divine inspiration? We answer, first, that this, whether inspiration is necessary or not, is not exactly the question, but whether the inspiration claimed by the gospels is a real fact; for if so, its necessity and utility, as it is a work of God, cannot be called in question, though we may not clearly see it; secondly, it is, however, not difficult to see directly the high importance of the inspiration; for the merely human testimony, as man is subject to error, especially in all things that do not fall under the perception of the senses and under the comprehension of natural reason, cannot give an evidence,

adequate to all that we read in the gospels; they do not only state facts, perceptible by the senses, but they contain in the greatest part sublime doctrines, contrary to the carnal sense of man, and mysteries, far above human reason. Who does not see here at once, that if the writers of these documents are not supposed to be *absolutely* infallible, how many objections to their statements will be made by human reason? Conceeded, that they were well informed and faithful, could they not misunderstand the high doctrines declared to them, could they not misconstrue these mysteries even without any intention to deceive, merely by human fallibility in such questions? We know by experience too well, what the gospels become under the hands of such, who though not doubting their historical character undertake to interpret them without admitting their absolute immunity from all errors or mis-statements. The rationalistic school among protestant divines has given too many proofs, that, unless the authors of the gospels are believed to be absolutely infallible, not merely human witnesses, very little or nothing of Christian doctrines and mysteries will be left. But an absolute infallibility that excludes all possibility of error in such matters, requires for man a divine assistance. This may be two-fold, either merely negative, excluding all error in the writer, or positive, not only protecting the writer against error, but also moving him to write, and to write only that, which God intends to have written. That at least the first kind of assistance, which theologians call negative inspiration, is by all means necessary to make man in writing such doctrines and facts, as the gospels contain, absolutely infallible, cannot be denied; and concerning the second kind of assistance, who will not admit that God, knowing best what is good for man's salvation, could move the holy writers without doing anything superfluous, to write down just such facts and such points of the revealed doctrines and mysteries, as the gospels really contain? Hence the question, whether the inspiration of the holy books is a real fact, cannot be slighted

reasonably by any man; no, it is most important to know how it is to be proved. But to make our answer clear, we must first more distinctly determine what we understand by inspiration,

3. The Council of Trent has declared, that God is the *author* of all books of both the old and the new Testament, and that, therefore, these books entire, with all their parts, must be received as sacred and canonical.*) To this declaration, we think, at least what concerns the determination of inspiration, no protestant will object. Now from this the catholic theologians derive the following definition of inspiration; they say, it is the special impulse, direction and presence of the Holy Ghost, to move the sacred writer to write, and to direct him thus in writing, that the same will not fall into any error, and write those things which God intends to have written.†)— Therefore they say, four conditions are required, not more and not less, for inspiration; 1) the impulse to write; 2) the enlightenment of the intellect and the motion of the will; 3) the choice of the things to be written, so that nothing be omitted or added to that which God intended to have written by the sacred writers; 4) the continual and special assistance in completing the work.‡) Consequently it is not necessary 1) that the

*) Conc. Trident. Sess. 4. Decret. de canon. Script. "Sacrosancta Synodus omnes libros tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, cum *utriusque unus Deus sit auctor*, ...pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.—Sess. V. c. 1. ref. : Caelestis ille ss. librorum thesaurus, quem Spiritus sanctus summa liberalitate hominibus tradidit.

†) Perrone. Compend. vol. I., p. 165.

‡) Bellarm. Controv. de verbo Dei l. 1. c. 15 : "I answer that God is the author of all divine Scriptures, but that He assists in another way the prophets, and in another the other, especially historical writers; for to the prophets He *revealed* the future things and assisted them at the same time lest they might add anything else in writing; but to the other writers God did not always reveal the things which they were about writing, but He *excited* them to write those things which they had seen or heard, and of which they remembered, and *assisted* them at the same time, lest they might write any thing false; which assistance did not prevent that they did not exert themselves in thinking and searching what and how they would write."

single words and the choice of the expressions, and the construction of the sentences are inspired or dictated by the Holy Ghost, but it is sufficient, that the inspiration embraces the matter to be written and the sentences; 2) neither is it necessary, that such things which the sacred writers had known in a natural manner, were divinely revealed to them, as there are historical facts or natural truths; it is sufficient that God was present to them concerning the *choice* of those things that were to be written, and granting to them immunity from every error;*) but it would by no means be sufficient 1) only to be protected agrinst error, without any positive impulse to the work; 2) much less to be protected only against grievous errors, and not against slight mistakes, and 3) less yet to be only correct in such things, that belong to the doctrine of faith and morals and not also in historical, chronological, and similar matters; 4) even, if a book written in a merely human manner, would be afterwards approved by divine authority in any way, to be truthful, it could not be called inspired; for in these four cases God could not be called properly the *author of the book.*†) This much we think, unless inspiration be a thing without meaning or entirely misnamed, must be admitted by all who seriously speak of any inspiration of Scripture, whilst a stricter, more narrow definition, as the early protestants used to give, so that every word and even every apex (point,) would be dictated by the Holy Ghost, leads into endless and indeed, useless difficulties, considering the different character of the inspired books.‡) In this moderate, catholic sense therefore,

*) Compare St. Luke ch. 1, v. 3.

†) Bonfrere distinguished, 1) inspiratio antecedens, 2) concomitans, et 3) subsequens; the last is a contradiction *in adjecto.* By the Universities of Louvain and Doway the following proposition, asserted by Lessius and Hamelius, was proscribed, namely: Liber aliquis, qualis forte est 2. Macch., humana industria sine assistentia spiritus sancti scriptus, si Spiritus sanctus postea testetur, ibi nihil esse falsum, efficitur scriptura sacra."

‡) St. Thom. 2, 2. q. 174, a. 2. Illorum qui hagiographa conscripserunt, plures loquebantur frequentius de his, quae humana ratione cognosci pos-

we understand inspiration, when we ask whether the inspiration of the gospels can be proved to human reason.

4. By this question, no doubt, we touch the sore spot, the Achilles' heel of protestantism. The inspired Scripture is the rule of faith for the protestant; what means this? The Scripture, as far as it is the inspired word of God, is the foundation of his faith and hope for eternity; his faith and hope depends, therefore, entirely and ultimately on the fact of the inspiration. If this fact cannot be proved with full evidence, his faith is vain and his hope delusive; to believe what I have no evidence for, and to hope for what no guarantee whatsoever is given to human reason, is fanaticism, not faith or hope. But how can the inspiration be proved in any satisfactory manner on the protestant ground? We will not include at present all the books of the Old and the New Testament, but confine ourselves to the four gospels.*) How will you prove their inspired character? You answer perhaps, that the apostles received the Holy Ghost to guide them in all things into truth. But from this would follow, that two of the gospels, those of St. Mark and St. Luke, would not be inspired, because they were not apostles; and even in regard to the two other gospels, written by apostles, from where do you know that they when writing their gospels had the Holy Ghost? You say perhaps, from the sacred writings, so far as they are merely historical documents; but then you have a merely human testimony for a fact, which being beyond the reach of human sense and human experience is not satisfactorily testified by a mere human testimony;†) and

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sunt, non quasi ex persona Dei, sed ex persona propria, *cum adjutorio tamen divini luminis.*

*) A good deal more difficult it is to produce any argument for many of the other holy books on the protest ground.

†) One might object, that the catholic argument for the inspiration is also entirely based on human testimony or historical tradition. But as we shall see, this is not so. The catholics presuppose a reliable historical tradition in their argument, but this merely historical testimony is not by itself sufficient to establish the inspiration of any book as an article of faith; the

even if we could know without divine testimony, that the apostles had the Holy Ghost, it would not follow neither that they were *properly* inspired, so as to exclude any slight or accidental error, nor that they were inspired in all that they have written. But if you admit any, even slight or accidental errors in the gospels, the inspiration is given up, and you open to the wontonness of human cavilling full scope to undermine all certainty in the gospels; for who will determine what is an accidental or slight error? No less inconvenience follows from the second point, for to say, that the apostles were divinely inspired in all that they spoke and wrote, leads to absurdities and if we admit this not, it will be impossible to determine only from this, that they had the Holy Ghost, when they were inspired and *when* not. Hence on this ground, that the apostles had the Holy Ghost, no evidence can be gained for a real inspiration of even two gospels, and much less of all four of them. And yet this seems to be of all, the best argument that can be offered from the protestant stand-point. Much less are the other arguments, commonly given by protestant writers. Rev. Hartwell Horne, in his introduction to the critical study of the Holy Scriptures, treats also on this question. Now only mark the heading of the chapter on inspiration, namely: "The miracles *related* in the Old and New Testaments are proofs that the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God;"*) it is not necessary to show all the absurdities which would follow from such a principle, and precisely of a similar form is his argument drawn from prophecy; it is never attempted to show how the prophecies, *recorded* in the New Tes-

historical tradition, to have such an effect, must be directly or indirectly approved, and as it were, sealed with the divine seal of infallibility by the authority of the Church. *J. S. Semler*, was right in saying, that "since inspiration is not an external fact, no merely external and historical testimony can be admitted for proving it." Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canons. Halle 1771, II, 78, p. 29, 115.

*) Vol. 1, p. 204, seventh edition.

tament, were intended to show the inspiration of the books which contain them. How, for instance, the truth of our Blessed Redeemer's prophecy, touching the destruction of Jerusalem, can demonstrate that the gospel of St. Matthew must be inspired, because it relates it.*) Another protestant writer reduces the internal evidences of the inspiration to such heads as these: "The exalted character given to God," the description of human nature, the provision revealed in it to man after his fall, its morality and its impartiality.†) How many books would be inspired according to such evidences, besides the Bible ?‡) Cardinal Wiseman justly observes: "The Hindoo brings every one of the same heads of evidence for his Vedas, and the Mahomedan for his Koran." These being the best arguments, at least as far as the books of the New Testament are concerned, it is certain, that the fact of the inspiration for the gospels cannot be demonstrated on the protestant ground. We may say to them: "Ye worship ye know not what."

5. If we consult the history of the first centuries of Christianity, we may easily perceive how the first christians came to the full conviction of the fact, that the gospels and the oth-

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*) Wiseman's Lectures, vol. I, p. 35.

†) Rev. Mr. Tottingham, Downside Discussion, p. 114. *Hilgenfeld*, having shown the manner in which the canon of the N. T. originated, remarks as a staunch protestant: "Only those protestants who have apostatized to the catholic principle of authority and their tradition, can inconsiderately hold the Canon of the N. T., coming from the ancient catholic episcopacy, to be infallible and establish the inspiration of the Scripture on the inspiration of the old catholic church."—p. 34. *J. D. Michaelis* (1791,) says, that a protestant can neither appeal to the testimony of the church, nor to the internally felt testimony of the Holy Ghost for the inspiration of the Scripture; for also the Mahometan refers to the internal divine feeling for the truth of his religion. (Introd. in the N. T. Goetting, 1788,) p. 81. Hence he concludes, that the protestant must be *satisfied* to know that the holy books are authentic, and *humanly* trustworthy, but *not divinely inspired*. p. 75. *Hilgenfeld* comes to the same conclusion, p, 188, l. c.

‡] Not better are the arguments offered by J. Kitto, in his Cyclopaedia of Biblical literature, s. v. Inspiration, II, p. 14, Edition of New York, 1861.

er books of the New Testament are inspired. There were besides the really inspired books, many supposititious writings, professing to be of an apostolical origin, in circulation; for Tindal, in his celebrated Amyntor, enumerates eighteen books, which are condemned and consequently not now received; and Mr. Jones remarks that the list is very far from being complete. Then there are a great many other works acknowledged to have been written by disciples of the apostles, by persons in the same situation, as St. Luke and St. Mark; such are Barnabas and Hermas, whose writings, accordingly, some divines of the last century proposed to be received as portions of the canon of Scripture.*) How did the first christians make out, which of these works were inspired, and which not? Only read what St. Irenaeus and Tertullian†) say: they refer to the testimony of the ecclesiastical authorities; a book, whatsoever it contained or to whomsoever it was ascribed, unless it had the testimony of the ecclesiastical authority for its inspired character, was rejected as spurious or apocryphical. Especially the churches, immediately founded by the apostles, were asked before others, because it was partly supposed, that they, having received at least some parts of the N. T. directly from the apostles, could give the best testimony for the fact of of the inspiration.‡) By this it is also easily explained, that in regard to some parts of the Scripture for a while some dif-

*) Wiseman l. c. p. 29.

†) Irenaeus adv. Haer. III. 3. 2. et 4. 1. Tertull. c. Marc, IV, 5. says: "Nam etsi Apocalypsin ejus (Joannis) Marcion respuit, *ordo tomen episcoporum* ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. Sic et ceterarum (sc. Scriptuarum) generositas recognoscitur....Eadem Ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quoque patrinocinabitur Evangeliis, quae proinde *per illas et secundnm illas habemus*, Joannis dico et Matthaei, licet et Marcus, quod edidit, Petri affirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus."

‡) St. Augustin, de Doct. Christ. II. 12. In canonicis antem Scripturis Ecclesiarum catholicarum quam plurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illac sint, quae *apostolicas sedes habent et epistolas accipere meruerunt.*

ference prevailed. As all authority of any book depended on such an authentic testimony, it occurred sometimes that in one part of the church this testimony was not at once fully ascertained, and therefore its inspired character contradicted. Hence, we have different lists or catalogues, called canons of the different churches. Of the church of Rome such a canon was found by Muratori in the library of Milan, therefore, commonly called the Muratorian fragment. It has been carefully examined by different critics, and it is now agreed on, that this document was written between the year 170—190.§) The beginning of the valuable document is wanting; it commences, mentioning Marcus, and adds then as the third gospel that of St. Luke, and as the fourth, that of St. John; from this it is naturally supplied that the gospel of St. Matthew was placed as the first. Then follow "the Acts of the apostles," by St. Luke; of the epistles of St. Paul, thirteen are enumerated; the epistle to the Hebrews is omitted. Of the so-called catholic epistles, three or four are mentioned, the passage is not quite clear, namely that of St. Jude, and two or three of St. John; the apocalypse or Revelation of St. John follows then, and at last some writing of St. Peter is mentioned, but whether by this the epistles of this apostle are meant, or some apocryphals, ascribed to St. Peter, can not be made out of the text as it stands;*) but because Tertullian, belonging to the occidental or Latin church, mentions the first epistle of St. Peter, it is probable, that this epistle is meant by the obscure expression of the document, so that of all the books of the N. T. would be only omitted the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of St. James and the second of St. Peter. Of the Orient, the two sees of Antioch and Alexandria, prevailed in author-

§) Muratori. Antiquit. Ital. med. aevi. Tom. III. p. 854, examined by Hug, Wieseler, and others.

*) The words of the text are: "Et Petri tantum recipimus, quam quidem (quidam) ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt."

ity. Of Antioch we have the catalogue or canon of the authorized books in the Syriac translation, the Peschito, published certainly about the middle of the second century; it contains the four gospels, with the Acts of the apostles; of the catholic epistles that of St. James, the first of St. Peter, and the first of St. John., and finally all the epistles of St. Paul, fourteen in number. The other books of the N. T. are wanting, the second ep. of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Revelation of St. John. Of the see of Alexandria we have no catalogue of the inspired books, reaching back to the second century. Origen in the third century, is the first who gives us the canon of this church in his seventh homily to Josue, enumerating them in the following order: 1) The four gospels; 2) the two epistles of St. Peter; 3) the epistles of St. James and St. Jude; 4) some epistles (without giving the exact number) of St. John; 5) the Acts of the apostles by St. Luke; 6) the fourteen epistles of St. Paul; in other passages also the apocalypse is stated as a canonical book by the same author,†) so that all the books of the N. T. were received as inspired at that time in Alexandria. Based on these and similar testimonies of the tradition within the Church, Eusebius gives in the fourth century the following statements concerning the canon of the N. T; he classifies all the books, circulating at his times; 1) such that are by all agreed on; (*τα ὁμολογούμενα*), 2) such that are contradicted, (*ἀντιλέγομενα*); 3) spurious books, which, though they did not contain anything

†) Orig. apud Euseb. VI, 25. Hilgenfeld remarks of Origen: "Origen decides all (in regard to the inspiration of a book) by the empirical principle: Such books, as are not called into question, are undoubtedly genuine, (and canonical) and those that are called in question, are for this very reason of an ambiguous character. Then he adds concerning the criticisms of the fathers of the church in general, that they were restrained in exercising it *by the unanimous tradition of the church*, p. 80. To define, which book is canonical (inspired) or not, Origin would not decide according to his own sentiment or according to the internal quality of a book, but exclusively by its acknowledgment in the church, p. 47.

contrary to the faith of the Church, were not authentic. 4) spurious books, fabricated by heretics. Among the first class he counts the four gospels, the Acts of the apostles, all the epistles of St. Paul, the first of St. John, and the first of St. Peter; the apocalypse of St. John, Eusebius is inclined to add also to this class, though doubted by others. To the second class belong the epistle of St. James, of St. Jude, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John. To the class of the spurious, not heretical, writings, belong, according to Eusebius, the Acts of St. Paul, the so-called "Pastor," the apocalypse of St. Peter, the epistle of St. Barnabas, the doctrine of the apostles; and by some, he adds, also the "Revelation of St. John," is placed in this class, whilst others enumerate it among those agreed on. Moreover some added to these books also, "the gospel according to the Hebrews," in which, especially those who became christians from Judaism, find much delight. Yet all these books could also be counted among the second class, "the contradicted." In the class of heretical fabrications he puts the gospels of Peter, of Thomas, Matthias, the acts of Andrew, of John and the other apostles, which show by their form and doctrine to be entirely at variance with the true orthodoxy, and prove themselves by this to be fabrications of heretics; they are not only spurious, but absurd and impious."†) If we compare this classification with the aforementioned catalogues of the inspired books in the different parts of the church, we easily shall see, that this classification is nothing else but the result of a careful holding together of the traditions on these books in the stated parts of the church. In the greatest part they agreed, but in regard to five of the catholic epistles, and the apocalypse of St. John some difference prevailed, that is, the tradition was not everywhere perfectly sure; in the occidental church, it seems, there was also some doubt even in the 4th century, entertained con-

†) Euseb. Eccl. Hist. III, 25.

cerning the epistle to the Hebrews; for Philastrius, bishop of Brescia (387), acknowledges only thirteen epistles of St. Paul. But now the time had arrived where the question on the inspired books of the N. T. could finally be settled. The communication between the different parts of the church became in the fourth century more actual. In consequence of the Arian heresies several synods were held, among them the general councils of Nice and Constantinopolis; in this manner all facility was offered to ascertain more the ground on which the tradition rested in regard to the disputed books, and thus it seems, all doubts, entertained in some parts of the church, were soon dispelled. Towards the end of the fourth century we have a catalogue of the inspired books of the N. T. in the works of Rufinus, in his Exposition of the Apostolical Symbolum, in which all the parts of the N. T. are exactly enumerated, concluding with these words: "These are the books, which the fathers have placed together in the canon, of which they desired that the sources for the defense of our faith should consist. A provincial council, held at Laodicea, 356, A. D., in Minor Asia, enumerates among the books, to be read and received as authority, all of the N. T., only omitting the Revelation of St. John; for, as it is remarked in another catalogue,*) pertaining to the same age and the same part of the church, some admit it (the Revelation), but more call it spurious." Thus we find it also in the works of Cyrillus of Jerusalem, and of Gregory of Nazianz, († 391). We see by this how careful they were not to admit any book, unless duly testified by tradition. The patriarchal see of Antioch kept up for the liturgical use the canon of the Peschito, but we see from the works of Ephrem, the most celebrated father of the Syriac church, that the divine authority of the omitted parts was nevertheless acknowledged. At Alexandria all the books of the N. T.,

*) This catalogue in verses is attributed to Gregory of Nazianz, but probably is of Amphilochius of Iconium." Reithm. p. 85.

without exception were received. St. Athanasius, in a Paschal letter enumerates all of them, stating at the same time that he had well examined the tradition from the beginning.†) In the Latin church, finally, the question was settled first by two provincial councils, held at Hippo, (393) and at Carthage (397): they enumerate all the books of the N. T., merely indicating as it seems, that some doubts had been before entertained in regard to the epistle to the Hebrews, for they separate it from the other epistles of St. Paul, saying: "thirteen epistles of Paul, one to the Hebrews of the same;" at the end of the canon, containing this catalogue, it is mentioned, that for the confirmation of the canon "the church beyond the sea, (Ecclesia transmarina) should be consulted." This confirmation followed a few years after. Pope Innocent the first, declared in his epistle to Exuperius of Tolosa in the year 405, A. D., for the occidental church all the books, which are to this day parts of the N. T., to be canonical, that is, inspired.‡) Exactly the same declaration was repeated by Gelasius, in a synod at Rome, 494,‖) and then afterwards by the general councils of Florence and of Trent. Thus the fact of the inspiration of the Scriptures has been established.§) But the question is now, was this proceeding of the church in accordance with the principles of reason? This we must shortly take into consideration.

6. The church proclaims herself to be by divine institution the living continuation of the apostolical preaching of the gospel of Christ; to her, therefore, has been intrusted the whole

†) Athanas. Epist. festal. 39. Opp. Tom. I, p. II. p. 961. comp. Athanas. Opp. Tom. II. p. 129.

‡) Cod. Can. Eccl. Rom. Opp. S. Leonis M. Venet. 1757. T. III, p. 98, p. 187, p. 643.

‖) Decret. Dist. XV, c. 3.

§) Tertull. de praescript. c. 19: Cujus sint scripturae? a quo, et per quos et quando et quibus sit tradita disciplina qua fiunt Christiani? Ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem et disciplinae, et fidei christianae, illic erit veritas scripturarum et expositionum et omnium traditionum christianarum.

deposit of faith, that is, all that was taught by the apostles; to her also has been promised the assistance of the Holy Ghost, to be guided in all things into truth, so that she may be capable of being the faithful guard and interpreter of the deposit of faith, intrusted to her care. By this deposit of faith she is conscious to herself, that at least a part of the doctrine, preached by the apostles, has been consigned in books divinely inspired. This consciousness is universal in the whole church at all times; therefore it must be true, for else the promise of divine guidance unto all truth, would have failed, which is impossible.*) Which are these books? The greatest part of them are acknowledged as such again universally within the church; in regard to them therefore there can neither be any question for the aforesaid reason. But there are some books which are contradicted by some, and therefore enjoy no universal acknowledgment. Here then was the first question, are they in all that they contain, in accordance with the faith of the church, or not; if not, they are judged by themselves;†) but if they are, they may be permitted to be read, but not as inspired books,‡) until after a due investigation of the reasons for and against, the church as the guard and interpreter of the

*) Vincent. Lerenens. Comm. I, n. 2: "But in this Catholic Church we must be particularly careful to hold fast that doctrine, which has been believed in all places, at all times and by all." Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.... Quicquid omnes pariter uno codemque consensu aperte, frequenter, perseveranter tenuisse, scripsisse, docuisse cognoverit, id sibi quoque intelligat absque omni dubitatione credendum.

†) Irenaens ads. Haer.: "Valentiniani in tantum processerunt audaciae ut quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritatem Evangelii titulent, in nihilo *Apostolorum Evangeliis conveniens*, ut nec Evangelium quidem apud illos sine blasphemia sit. Si enim quod ab eis profertur, veritatis Evangelium est, dissimile autem hoc illis, *quae ab Apostolis nobis tradita sunt;* qui volunt, possunt discere....jam non esse id, quod ab Apostolis traditum est, veritatis Evangelium.

‡) Such were some of the canonical epistles for a while; the epistle of St. Barnabas and the "Pastor of Hermas were never acknowledged."

deposit of faith, will pronounce on them by divine assistance an infallible decision. And what was properly the point of investigation in order to decide this question? This consisted as we have seen from our historical remarks, given above, principally in this, 1)whether they were really authentical writings of the apostles or their immediate disciples, written, as it were under the very eyes of the apostles, and 2)whether in any part of the church they were by an uninterrupted tradition recognized as inspired books. Could this be sufficiently shown,‖) and was there no positive but perhaps only a negative testimony against, as far as such a book had not come to the knowledge of other parts of the church, with all its proofs of its genuineness and inspired character, the church settled at last the question as the guard and interpreter of the deposit of faith. According to these principles the church proceeded in the question on the inspired books, and she did this in perfect consistency with the principles, according to which she has decided from the beginning, and continues to decide every question pertaining to faith and morals. And certainly, if it be granted, that to the living authority of the church the deposit of faith has been intrusted by divine ordinance, to be the keeper and interpreter of it, nobody can deny, that her proceedings are consistent and conform to that, which natural reason demands. The divine authority of the church admit-

‖) Distincta est a posterioribus libris (sc. qui non sunt canonici) excellentia canonicae auctoritatis V. et N. testamenti, quae apostolorum confirmata temporibus, *per successiones episcoporum et propagationes ecclesiarum tanquam in sede quadam sublimiter constituta est*, cui serviat omnis fidelis et pius intellectus. St. Aug. contra Faust. l. II. c. 5. *Hilgenfeld* in his work "the Canon and the Criticism of the N. T. (Halle, 1863) says: "The Catholic bishops became the fathers and guardians of the New Canon of the sacred books the substance of which was the universal apostolical doctrine (deren Grundbegriff eben das Gesammt-Apostolische war.) The Catholic church which believed herself to be in the possession of the genuine apostolical doctrine, *by the bishops as the successors of the apostles*, desired to possess this doctrine also in a written tradition." p. 35.

ted, her proceeding in showing the inspired character of the books of Scripture is a logically necessary consequence. This authority to prove here, would be a transgression of the limits of this treatise. This much, however, we may add, that this authority of the church is proved by her very existence, by her history, by her divine organization, by the continued divine testimonies of miracles, in such a manner, that also here the words of Scripture quoted above are realized again: "Thy testimonies, O, Lord, are very sure." And relying then on this authority we obtain a full evidence of the inspiration; but without this authority, it is utterly impossible. Hence St. Augustin, the deepest mind among the fathers of the ancient church, expressed the same truth in these emphatic words: "Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret anctoritas." I indeed would not believe the gospel,*) if the authority of the catholic church would not move me."

*) Contr. Epist. Manich. c. 6, (Opp. t. VIII. p. 154.)

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ERRATA.

Page 90, l. 11, for ch. 29, read ch. 19.

Page 94, note, l. 6, for Magi, read Magis.

Page 102, l. 6, for are, read art.

Page 104, l. 25, for 180, read 780.

Page 112, l. 19, for principle, read principal.

Page 128, l. 31, and 180, l. 3, for grievious read grievous.

Page 191, note, l. 11, for suppositions read supposititious.

Page 197, l. 4, for set, read sect.

Page 35, l. 10, insert a comma after journey.

Page 216, l. 21, for work, read word.

In the references for Reithmeier, read always Reithmayr.

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